

RELIGION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

by Kirby Page
Editor, The World Tomorrow

Commencement Address, Baylor University
June 1, 1932

Mr. President, Members of the Graduating Class of 1932, Ladies and Gentlemen: Twenty-seven years have passed since I was a student in the High School at Lott, a few miles south of here, and it is a great joy to be back again among my fellow Texans. This quarter-century has been one of the most momentous periods in all history. Seventeen years ago, in the midst of the World War, I was ordained as a Christian clergyman, and during the years that have followed it has been my privilege and responsibility to travel constantly and widely over the earth, seeking first-hand data concerning world problems and proclaiming the Good News of Christ.

Four years have passed swiftly since the members of the present graduating class entered the halls of Baylor. The world in which we live today is drastically different from the riotous prosperity of 1928. Across the continent tens of thousands of graduates during these June days are going out to swell the ranks of the eight millions of unemployed in this land.

The freshmen who will enroll here in September, and who survive the ordeal of the next four years, will likewise go out into a world astoundingly different from the civilization in which we live today. Society is in the melting pot and social institutions are flowing as molten iron. When crystallization will occur and in what mold society will set, cannot now be foretold.

Social change is not only inescapable, it is highly desirable. No thoughtful and sensitive person can look out over the earth today and desire the perpetuation of its poverty and misery, greed and exploitation, lawlessness and crime, hatred and warfare. When the Kingdom of God comes on earth it will not resemble our present civilization. When we pray the Lord's Prayer, "Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth," we are therefore praying for drastic changes in the present social order.

Change is inevitable; it is desirable; yet it is always bitterly resisted. Blindness and bigotry, greed and fear always combine to defend the status quo. The innovator is ever regarded with suspicion and hostility. The prophet of the new day must be prepared to face opposition and persecution. Let me illustrate the significance of this truth.

Consider the reform known as woman suffrage. That women should be permitted to vote now seems axiomatic and beyond debate. Yet Miss Susan B. Anthony and her colleagues were subjected to abuse and villification because they advocated equal rights for women. For a half century insulting epithets of a most extreme character were hurled at them from one end of the country to the other. In 1871 a Seattle paper, in commenting upon an address given by Miss Anthony in that city, said: "She

is a revolutionist, aiming at nothing less than the breaking up of the very foundations of society, and the overthrow of every social institution organized for the protection of the sanctity of the altar, the family circle and the legitimacy of our offspring, recognizing no religion but self-worship, no God but human reason, no motive to action but lust...The whole plan is coarse, sensual and agrarian, the worst phase of French infidelity and communism."

Not only were these pioneer women called vile names, they were mobbed, arrested and subjected to all manner of indignities. In 1858 at a meeting in Rochester, "Miss Anthony was greeted with a perfect storm of hisses. Finally the demonstration became so threatening that she and the other speakers were hurried out of the hall by a rear door, the meeting was broken up and the janitor turned out the lights." In 1861 Miss Anthony, Mrs. Stanton and several other women arranged a series of meetings in New York State. In Buffalo their meeting was broken up by a mob which included an ex-justice and a son of ex-President Fillmore. "They were mobbed and their meetings broken up in every city from Buffalo to Albany." In Syracuse "rotten eggs were thrown, benches broken, and knives and pistols gleamed in every direction". At Albany the mayor of the city agreed to protect them. He placed policemen in various parts of the hall, "then he laid a revolver across his knees, and there he sat during the morning, afternoon and evening sessions."

Another illustration is found in the age-long defense of human slavery. We Southerners now freely admit that chattel slavery was wrong and unchristian, but my grandfather, who was a Baptist minister and a slave-owner, regarded slavery as a divine institution and believed that the Church should perpetuate it. Not only was slavery defended, to bear testimony against it was regarded as impious and unpatriotic. In dedicating a church building in Charleston in 1850 the Reverend J. H. Thornwell, a distinguished Presbyterian clergyman who was sometimes called the "Calhoun of the Church," said: "The Parties in this conflict are not merely abolitionists and slaveholders - they are atheists, socialists, communists, red republicans, jacobins, on the one side, and the friends of order and regulated freedom on the other. In one word, the world is the battle ground - Christianity and Atheism the combatants; and the progress of humanity the stake." This same procedure of labelling antislavery advocates with all the objectionable epithets then current was followed by the Honourable James Wilson, American Minister to Turkey. In one category he grouped "the advocates of 'free love,' the 'Socialists,' the Infidels, the 'Red Republicans,' and 'Abolitionists.'....

Ecclesiastical reform has always proved dangerous. John Wesley was one of the great spiritual leaders of Christian history. Yet opposition burst upon him the moment he found a life and a message that were vital and that challenged the moral insensibility of his time. It came from two quarters, the religious leaders of the day and the vulgar mob. The "Holy Club" had been instantly persecuted at Oxford, and later the newly-converted minister was driven from churches. Within a year no church in London would hear him. By 1762 three hundred and thirty-two anti-Methodist books and pamphlets had been published. Many of these were cruelly unjust and bitter, accusing Wesley of almost every sin. Toplady, author of "Rock of Ages," called Wesley "the most rancorous hater of the Gospel system that has ever appeared in this land," and spoke of Wesley's "Satanic guilt" and "Satanic shamelessness." Rowland Hill referred to Wesley as a "designing wolf," "as unprincipled as a rock and as silly as a jackdaw," "a venial profligate," an "apostate miscreant." In the Edinburgh Review, Sydney Smith wrote of "the nasty and numerous vermin of Methodism."

Wesley often faced mobs in person. "Again and again he preached," says Lecky, "like the other leaders of the movement, in the midst of showers of stones or tiles

or rotten eggs... Drums were beaten, horns blown, guns let off, and blacksmiths hired to ply their noisy trade in order to drown the voices of the preachers.. On other occasions packs of hounds were brought with the same object, and once, in order to excite the dogs to fury, a live cat in a cage was placed in their midst. Fire engines poured streams of fetid water upon the congregation. Stones fell so thickly that the faces of many grew crimson with blood. At Hoxton the mob drove an ox into the midst of the congregation. At Pensford the rabble, who had been baiting a bull, concluded their sport by driving the torn and tired animal full against the table on which Wesley was preaching. At Plymouth and Bolton "howling fanatics, dancing with rage such as had never been seen before in creatures called men, hunted the preacher like a pack of wolves."

Hundreds of illustrations could easily be assembled to prove that refusal to accept the status quo is a dangerous procedure. The supreme illustration of course, is found in Jesus of Nazareth. After years of contact with human suffering and long vigils of brooding over human agony, Jesus comes out of obscurity with a flaming new message and program: the purpose of life is to help create the Family of God, where all men will dwell in filial relations with the Father and with brotherly affection for each other; the method by which the desired end is to be reached is to live constantly as a good member of God's home; live day by day as if the ideal society has already been achieved; run the risks, accept the penalties, and rely upon this manner of life for victory. Here is the most radical program that has ever been offered to mankind. Within a few years its advocates were to be spoken of as "those who turn the world upside down." Well may Jean Paul Richter exclaim: "Christ who, being the holiest among the mighty, and the mightiest among the holy, lifted with His pierced hands empires off their hinges and turned the stream of centuries out of its channel, and still governs the ages."

The entire teaching of Jesus is an interpretation of what is meant by living as a good member of God's home. "'You must love the Lord your God with your whole heart, your whole soul, and your whole mind.' That is the great, first command. There is a second like it: 'You must love your neighbor as you do yourself.' These two commands sum up the whole of the Law and the Prophets." And, when interpreted as embracing all mankind, they also sum up the whole of Jesus' gospel.

His warnings are against attitudes and practices which disrupt and embitter family relations: covetousness, greed, envy, hypocrisy, anxiety, ingratitude, cruelty, adultery, hatred and revenge - all these are obviously inappropriate in a harmonious household. The virtues which he commends are those which constitute the cornerstones of a happy family: reverence, meekness, sympathy, affection, purity, mutual sharing, yearning, forgiveness and sacrifice.

Jesus universalizes the family virtues and makes them applicable to all men. "If you love only those who love you, what merit is there in that? For even godless people love those who love them. And if you help only those who help you, what merit is there in that? Even godless people act in that way." And again: "For I tell you that unless your uprightness is far superior to that of the scribes and Pharisees you will never even enter the Kingdom of Heaven!" "So you are to be perfect, as your Heavenly Father is."

The old codes provided a procedure to be followed within the circle of race and nation, and quite a different one to be applied when dealing with alien peoples. Friend and foe were placed in different categories. The ancient rule was: "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth." But Jesus insists that the golden rule must be applied to all human beings: "love your enemies (even the Romans), do good to those who hate you, bless those who curse you, pray for those who abuse you... As you would like men to do to you, so do to them."

To live day by day as a good member of God's home is an extremely dangerous procedure. Such a manner of life is so radical that it arouses fears and enmities. Society is more afraid of the prophet than of the criminal. Stoning the innovator is an ancient way of attempting to preserve the existing social order.

As Jesus goes about doing good, he arouses furious opposition. When he treats Samaritans as brothers and equals, he stirs up the same bitter passions that are engendered in many white communities today by the suggestion that Negroes should be regarded as brothers and equals. The "upper classes" look with abhorrence upon Jesus' practice of mingling freely with all kinds of common people - fishermen, artisans, tax-collectors and prostitutes.

Jesus' attitude toward ceremonial worship causes him to be regarded as a dangerous radical. That God could be approached direct and that the whole paraphernalia of temple ritual could be dispensed with is considered revolutionary doctrine. It threatens the foundations of vested interests. The teaching of Jesus to the Samaritan woman at the well contains high explosives: "Believe me, the time is coming when you will worship the Father neither on this mountain nor at Jerusalem... But a time is coming - it is already here! - when the true worshipers will worship the Father in spirit and sincerity, for the Father wants such worshipers. God is spirit, and his worshipers must worship him in spirit and sincerity." Rarely in history have men watched with equanimity a movement which threatened the sources of their income, prestige and power. And so Jesus faces the relentless opposition usually directed against heretics who threaten the existing system.

The holders of power and privilege also are afraid that, by gathering the multitudes about him, Jesus will bring down the wrath and vengeance of Rome upon them. This fact is made clear in a passage in John's Gospel: "Upon this the Chief Priests and the Pharisees called a meeting of the High Council and said: 'What are we to do, now that this man is giving so many signs? If we let him alone as we are doing, every one will believe in him; and the Romans will come and will take from us both our City and our Nationality.'" It was on this occasion that Caiaphas said: "...it is better for you that one man should die for the people, rather than that the whole nation should be destroyed." "So from that day they plotted to put Jesus to death."

On the other hand, the one-hundred-per-cent-patriots of Israel consider Jesus a slacker and traitor. He refuses to take up arms and is willing to let other men do his fighting. Instead of hating the invader and plotting the tyrants' overthrow, Jesus proclaims a message which is regarded by the violent revolutionists as cowardly submission. Their angry resentment may be more keenly appreciated if we ask what would have been the attitude of American patriots in 1918 if at a Liberty Loan mass meeting an obscure citizen had arisen and reminded his fellow-Christians: "It was said to you of old, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. But our Lord said that we must love the Germans, pray for the Germans, and do the Germans good." The scorn with which presentday militarists look upon pacifists is mild in comparison with the contempt manifested by Jewish patriots toward Jesus.

So dangerously radical is Jesus' way of love that his public ministry lasts less than three years, and his life is snuffed out at an age when most successful men are just getting well launched into a career. Jesus goes to his death with wide open eyes. At the very outset of his public work he faces the various alternatives during a long struggle in the wilderness. The first tempting suggestion is that he should concentrate primarily upon a ministry of healing; the second that he should seek spectacular short-cuts; and the third that he should compromise with evil and adopt either the policy of the Sadducees and join forces with Rome,

or that of the violent revolutionaries who sought by armed rebellion to restore Israel's glory. Early in his ministry he becomes aware of the tightening net of opposition about him. Several times it is necessary for him to change his base of operations, slipping away to less dangerous regions. Four times he warns his disciples that doom is imminent, and soon he realizes that a final choice must be made. The last and most terrible moment of testing comes in the garden of Gethsemane where he has gone with his disciples. The evidence is now conclusive that unswerving allegiance to the way of love will cost him life. His contemporaries simply will not permit him longer to violate cherished customs, undermine vested interests, and destroy ancient institutions. Compromise and abandonment of high ideals are necessary in order to prolong his physical existence. Death is the penalty for further loyalty to the way of love. And in the darkness and loneliness of the night, Jesus wrestles until the blood stands out on his brow: which is more important, life or a way of life? No decision in all history was ever so fraught with meaning for mankind as is the decision Jesus reaches in that hour of agony. If he had concluded that, after all, a man must live and that being a martyr would not do any good, and had therefore decided to make terms with his assailants, the course of human history would have been swerved into a different channel.

Jesus takes it for granted that his friends will suffer persecution and encounter numerous perils. Repeatedly he warns them not to be afraid, but boldly to live day by day as if the ideal society is a present reality. "Blessed are you when they have insulted and persecuted you, and have said every cruel thing about you falsely for my sake. Be joyful and triumphant, because your reward is great in the Heavens; for so were the Prophets before you persecuted."

"Brother will give up brother to be put to death, and the father his child, and children will turn against their parents and have them put to death. You will be hated by everyone, because you bear my name."

"Now go. Remember, I am sending you out as my Messengers like lambs among wolves."

Jesus not only foresees his own doom, but also tells his disciples plainly that they too will be martyred. Many crosses will be required before the Family of God can be fully established. Suffering is inescapable for those who bear the burdens of their kinsmen. "They will exclude you from their synagogues; why, the time is coming when anyone who kills you will think he is doing religious service to God."

"A pupil is not better than his teacher, nor a slave better than his master. A pupil should be satisfied to come to be like his teacher, or a slave to come to be like his master. If men have called the head of the house Beelzebub, how much worse names will they give to the members of his household! So do not be afraid of them. For there is nothing covered up that is not going to be uncovered, nor secret that is not going to be known. What I tell you in the dark you must say in the light, and what you hear whispered in your ear, you must proclaim from the housetops. Have no fear of those who kill the body, but cannot kill the soul..... If any man wishes to walk in my steps, let him renounce self, take up his cross, and follow me. For whoever wishes to save his life will lose it, and whoever, for my sake and for the sake of the Good News, will lose his life shall save it."

To the members of the graduating class, let me say this special word. You are going out into a swiftly moving stream. Change is everywhere apparent, and is highly desirable. Yet the same old forces of blindness and bigotry, greed and fear are bitterly resisting the transformation of our civilization into a society which

more nearly approximates the Kingdom of God on earth. Desperately you will need three qualities if you are to become deliverers of your fellowmen: an eager desire to discover the truth about the complex and dangerous problems of the hour; courage to follow the light when you find it; spiritual power to triumph over the forces of darkness and intolerance, greed and fear.

The religion of Jesus is practicable for us today if we will fulfil the conditions he fulfilled in his day: undertake a supreme task in behalf of God and humanity, the doing of which is more important than the safeguarding of one's own life; spend time regularly in silent meditation and intercession and communion with the Eternal; cultivate friendship and fellowship with a group of intimates and with the great ones of other ages; consciously and steadfastly pursue beauty; dedicate self unreservedly to the way of sacrificial goodwill and follow the gleam at all costs. If we will do these faithfully and persistently, we will progressively be filled with the wisdom and love and power which enabled Jesus to walk the way of the Cross and to become the Deliverer of Mankind.

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The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

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Dear Kirby:

We are not going to be able to use that article on sanctions. I am sorry, but we are having such a stream of manuscripts on this subject that it is causing me a good deal of pain to turn them back.

In your case, I think the essential thesis has been covered in other statements that have been made in *The Christian Century*, and then besides, your reply to Wilkins will make it impracticable to run the two contributions so near together. In the meantime, no doubt the sanctions discussion will pass into a new phase.

We had hoped to get the Wilkins discussion into the issue that is now on the press, but it was crowded out by other matters which absolutely had to have right of way.

As ever yours,



Editor, *The Christian Century*

CCM
GL

Dr. Kirby Page
347 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dictated by Dr. Morrison
and signed in his absence

SHOULD CHRISTIANS SANCTION SANCTIONS?

By Kirby Page

Should Christians approve of the application of forcible means of restraining a recalcitrant nation? That all depends. Certain types of social coercion seem to me to be entirely consistent with the Christian doctrine of love toward enemies. The payment of taxes cannot be left to the judgment and willingness of the individual. Traffic rules must be enforced and not left solely to the voluntary obedience of motorists. Thieves must be met with types of social restraint. Society cannot rely exclusively upon the conscience of robbers if property is to be safeguarded. All this is equivalent to saying that at times social compulsion is mandatory in the name of goodwill.

But not all varieties of police action are consistent with love toward the evildoer. Police power that took the form of mowing down people indiscriminately with a machine gun would be indefensible. In their efforts to restrain a criminal the police are not justified in setting fire to his home and burning to death his wife and children.

More inclusive social groupings are obliged at times to resort to compulsion of constituent units. The community as a whole must adopt coercive measures in restraining the greed of corporations. A state is often confronted with the necessity of compelling municipalities to observe state laws. The Federal government in turn must at least infrequently adopt measures of coercion against states. But there are sharp limits to types of

compulsion that are legitimate. Wholesale executions of stockholders because of malfeasance on the part of their officers, the burning of city blocks by state constabulary, and the bombing of state capitals by Federal troops - these would constitute unethical and intolerable forms of social coercion.

That situations may arise in which it will be necessary for the League of Nations to adopt coercive measures against a member whose actions jeopardize the safety of other peoples seems indisputable. The simple pronouncement of a legal judgment against a recalcitrant power sets in motion powerful forces of moral condemnation. The high ethical quality of such a procedure appears to me unimpeachable, and few advocates of world peace object to this form of social coercion.

From this perspective let us examine Italy's invasion of Ethiopia. What should the League of Nations do in response to this outrageous aggression? Surely some form of international restraint is imperatively demanded. Four types of action are open to the League: moral pressure, diplomatic ostracism, economic coercion and armed action. Which of these may consistently be advocated by Christians? That moral and diplomatic pressure are permissible will be denied by only a few. If Mussolini had known far in advance that an act of invasion would automatically and swiftly be followed by severance of all diplomatic relations with all members of the League and that normal diplomatic intercourse would not be restored until restitution had been made, it is extremely doubtful if he would have plunged into Ethiopia. The effect of moral condemnation in the form of

a legal judgment ^{by} ~~there~~ an international tribunal, plus the withdrawal of all consuls, ministers and ambassadors, and the sending home of all officials of the Italian government, would be to magnify enormously Italy's economic problems. The high vulnerability of Italy would probably make it impossible for that government to hold out for any considerable period of time in the face of diplomatic ostracism.

Certain forms of economic coercion appear to me permissible beyond doubt. An embargo against the sale of munitions to Italy and the prohibition of loans or credits with which to wage war are not open to ethical objections. Refusal to sell Italy coal, iron, oil, rubber, and cotton would, if maintained sufficiently long, ~~dislocate~~ dislocate the economic life of that nation to such an extent that the government would be obliged to yield. That such a procedure would impose terrific burdens upon the Italian people is obvious. It would not, however, necessarily produce starvation. The infliction of pain is not inherently unethical.

At what point should a Christian draw the line? My own answer is at the point of a boycott which results in starvation, or of a hunger blockade, or of armed hostilities. Economic pressure may be exerted in such a way as to make difficult continued aggression, without resorting to measures of starvation. Mahatma Gandhi's campaign of non-violent non-cooperation brought terrific economic pressure to bear upon the people of England but did not produce starvation even in the textile regions, although the number of British unemployed on the dole was increased. For the League to attempt the starvation of the Italian people would be highly un-

ethical. Resort to armed hostilities against Italy under authorization from the League would end in the slaughter of Italian sailors, soldiers, and civilians. Such indiscriminate killing appears to me to be wholly indefensible for a follower of the Prince of Peace who taught his disciples to love their enemies, even the Romans who were enslaving them, and to continue forgiving on beyond four hundred and ninety times.

But what should be the attitude of a Christian if Mussolini should resist non-military sanctions with an armed attack upon Malta or the Suez Canal? What if Italian troops should open fire on representatives of the League? The problem here presented is for a Christian pacifist similar to the one inherent in the question, "what would you do if hostile armed forces invaded your homeland?" In the latter case, the essence of Christian pacifism is found in the refusal to take up weapons of slaughter and in reliance upon non-warlike ways of dealing with enemies. Even if the armed forces of one's own nation retaliated with gun-fire, the pacifist would be obliged to withhold consent and to refrain from participation in battle. To return evil for evil is contrary to the Christian way of life. Many advocates of armed resistance will, of course, regard pacifists as cowardly and treasonable. Many fellow Christians will say that it is unrealistic and sentimental to expect a government to refrain from armed action against invaders. But the Christian pacifist is under a higher mandate to repudiate the pagan law of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and to rely exclusively upon procedures which are consistent with goodwill and an exalted estimate of the value of the personalities of the enemy troops.

The Christian who adheres to the pacifist position in relation to class war faces the same problem. What if the forcible oppression of the workers provokes them into armed resistance? Should a pacifist then engage in civil war? If he formed a judgment prior to the beginning of armed hostilities that the workers would refuse to use only non-warlike means, should he keep silent concerning his faith in a non-violent strategy? Or should he make a shrewd calculation as to how far the workers are willing to go and proclaim that conclusion?

This argument is equally valid in relation to a possible armed attack upon representatives of the League of Nations. Not all forms of social coercion are justifiable for a police force. It is not legitimate for local officers of the law to massacre the families of criminals, and it is not permissible for Federal troops to slaughter citizens of a recalcitrant state. A Christian pacifist is obliged to withhold approval from these procedures, even though he is regarded as romantic by "realists." If he believes that a starvation blockade or armed hostilities on the part of the League are unethical and unjustifiable, he is obliged to adhere to that conviction in spite of any action taken by League representatives. Surely the pacifist cannot be expected to advocate only that action which his government is prepared to take. A Christian opponent of capital punishment must proclaim this conviction even though he believes that his government will continue to hang or electrocute criminals. A Christian opponent of armed preparedness must oppose appropriations for this purpose in spite of a realization that Congress is not yet ready for complete disarmament. It is equally consistent to maintain that the League of

Nations should not resort to armed hostilities no matter what action may be taken by a recalcitrant nation.

All Christians in considering the question of social coercion of evildoers are obliged to draw the line at some point. There is ^{now} unanimity of opinion ~~that~~ the enemy should not be burned at the stake or tortured with slow starvation in a dungeon. The line must be drawn short of these extremes. In the other direction it is apparent that failure to impose any form of social restraint would be intolerable. In my judgment moral condemnation, diplomatic ostracism and certain forms of economic embargo are consistent with goodwill toward the Italian people, ^{and would prove to be adequate,} whereas a starvation blockade and armed hostilities on the part of the League cannot be reconciled with love toward enemies. A Christian pacifist is obliged to draw the line in the light of a vivid realization of the Christian ideal and of a realistic understanding of the consequences of a proposed form of action. The inability of pacifists to agree concerning the precise point where the line should be drawn must not be permitted to engender illwill within their ranks.

Thus far I have based this discussion upon the assumption that a genuinely impartial international tribunal is confronted with unprovoked aggression on the part of a member nation, that is to say upon the thesis that Italy is guilty in a different sense and to a higher degree than other members of the League. But this proposition needs examination.

Sanctions may be imposed by the League of Nations for one of two sharply contrasting reasons: for the purpose of freezing the status quo, in spite of the existence of many intolerable situations; or for the purpose of preventing further acts of in-

justice in order that the entire situation may be changed drastically in the direction of justice. What is the primary motive of the nations which are dominant in deciding League policies? To preserve or to change the status quo? Is England chiefly concerned about ^{safeguarding} ~~preserving~~ the British Empire or about bringing the system of empire to an end?

The problem may be approached from another direction. What act of aggression is Italy now committing which is unique and different from the practices of other great powers? Two primary differences are discernable. She is stealing territory at a later date than are other imperialist nations, and she is stealing after she promised in the Covenant of the League and in the Kellogg Pact not to steal. To citizens of countries which did their stealing earlier these distinctions appear valid and important. True enough vast sections of the British Empire and of the present territorial domain of the United States were acquired through conquest in war. But that was in an earlier day before the sin of armed conquest was recognized. Progress has been made. The League of Nations and the Pact of Paris represent a new era and ancient practices can no longer be tolerated. This is easy for Americans and Britishers to see. The difficulty comes when we attempt to convince Italians, Germans and Japanese that they must not do those things which brought privilege and power to England and the United States.

Consider the parable of the three robbers. The first ~~thief~~ did his stealing early and was home with the loot by ten o'clock. The second robber was back with his haul by midnight. The third thief overslept and at three o'clock discovered that the house selected had already been robbed by the ten o'clock

intruder. Then he had the misfortune to select the house which had been robbed by the midnight visitor. Act two: At one o'clock in the morning the first and the second evildoers were converted and suddenly realized that stealing is wrong. Whereupon with a mighty oath they swore off stealing - but kept the loot! When the three o'clock robber sought to rob their apartment, he was greeted with a sermon on the sin of stealing. But the late~~x~~comer, seeing the loot still in possession of the former thieves, failed to be convicted of sin. Instead, he pleaded: "Let's have one more round of stealing, then we will all quit!" Italy, Germany, and Japan, the frustrated powers, are insisting upon one more inning!

The ominous aspect of the present crisis is found in the fact that the imperialist powers are more willing to share loot than they are to bring the stealing system to an end. They are willing to extend the system of empire by making concessions to Italy. Already France and England have promised Italy a substantial share of the economic resources of Ethiopia. If Mussolini had been "reasonable" the crisis could easily have been averted. But when his "militarism" and "greed" threatened Britain's control of the sources of the Blue Nile and the route to India, the British Government turned energetically to the League of Nations as the instrument through which to prevent the extension of the Italian empire. The evidence is convincing that Britain has sworn off stealing further territory. She is satiated. But is she willing to do more than share loot with fellow-robbers? Is she ready to join in a world-wide effort to bring the system of empire to an end? Has her conversion reached the stage of restitution? The present situation is still further complicated

by the imperialism of ~~Emp^{er}or~~ Haile Selassie. Oppression and slavery characterize his rule over a large proportion of his subjects.

The acid test of the sincerity of England and France is furnished by Japan's aggression in China. The whole world knows that these nations were utterly unwilling to use sanctions to prevent Japan from stealing a vast slice of China. At the hour of Japan's seizure of Manchuria, where was the zeal of England and France for the sanctity of international agreements and for the prestige of the League of Nations? Did they fail to act because the threat to their interests was small in comparison with the risks involved in supporting the League of Nations? But the suggestion is being made in many quarters that the people of the British Isles have changed their minds during the past four years and now regret the failure of their government to uphold the League in the Manchurian crisis. If this belief is well founded, we may expect the British Government to be as alert and zealous concerning further Japanese seizure of Chinese territory as it now is to persuade the League to safeguard the route to India. And the evidence at this point is far from reassuring. Japan's continuing aggression in China is much more flagrant and extensive than is Italy's aggression in Ethiopia. If the League is justified in stopping Mussolini, the League is also under obligation to stop the Mikado. Here is the acid test of Britain's sincerity.

Armed sanctions and resort to a starvation blockade are highly unethical and unjustifiable even when a genuinely international tribunal takes action against a nation guilty of unprovoked aggression. But the consenting of Christians to

armed slaughter of Italians as a means of preserving the British empire appears to me wholly inexcusable.

A Christian pacifist stands on solid ground when he repudiates armed sanctions and a hunger blockade and insists upon: (1) conversion of international robbers; (2) fruits of penitence in the form of a concerted effort to end the system of stealing; (3) restitution in the form of sharing economic advantages through the lowering of trade barriers when territorial restitution is no longer possible, as in the case of returning California to Mexico; (4) commitment to the League of Nations as an instrument through which the status quo may be changed drastically in the direction of greater justice; (5) willingness to uphold the League when necessary to impose non-military sanctions - moral pressure, diplomatic ostracism, and a partial embargo - against a nation which resists the concerted effort to bring the system of empire to an end. To me it appears that the Christian pacifist is the realist!

[1937?]

Suggestions for Admiral Byrd's Radio Address on April 6th

Ten Minutes Available Time

Ladies and gentlemen of America, my voice is coming into your homes tonight as a direct result of my searching experiences at the Advance Base in Antarctica. During the long days and nights of that solitary vigil in a snow-buried dwelling, plans which had long been in my mind were brought to crystallization. And this is what I wrote in my diary:

"I find that I must take charge of my mind or it will take charge of me. One of my diversions is to try to get an unprejudiced mental picture of civilization. The distance and detachment of this place seem to soften some human follies. Others take on added significance. But from here the great folly of all follies is the amazing attitude of civilized nations toward each other. It seems a great madness. If this attitude is not changed, I don't see how our civilization, as we know it, will survive. I wonder if it is possible that the infinite diversions of civilization act as a narcotic to dull the mind of the human race to its danger?

"Fear, antagonism, and reprisals seem to be the rule among nations, which, in their conduct toward each other, are I believe 20,000 years behind the individual civilized citizen in his conduct toward his neighbor. In fact, international relations are often highly primitive.

"The well-being of a nation depends upon the well-being of its neighbor nations and fair and friendly trade relations with those nations.

"Therefore it appears to me that if a citizen desires reasonable prosperity and well-being for his family and his fellow citizens, he should strive for friendly understanding within the family of nations. That seems the loyal and efficient thing to do for his country. I feel this so keenly that if I survive this ordeal I shall devote what is left of my life largely to trying to help further the friendship of my country with other nations."

Therefore, when the invitation came to serve as Honorary Chairman of the No-Foreign-War Crusade, I was glad to accept the opportunity. I like the emphasis on no-FOREIGN- war. That is a slogan which can be accepted by citizens of widely varying points of view. What we are saying in this crusade is that soldiers, sailors and marines of the United States should never again be sent to fight in Europe and Asia. We do not expect agreement concerning the question of repelling an armed invasion of our own soil. Many of us would feel obliged to take up arms if necessary in order to protect our own territory; while many others, like the Quakers with their historical opposition to the method^{of} war, would endeavor to serve their country in other ways than by resorting to armed action.

Surely there is reason to say that an overwhelming proportion of the people of the United States are utterly opposed to the sending of their sons and husbands and fathers to fight in a foreign land. During the hours of solitude at the Advance Base, I had ample opportunity to reflect on the essential unity of the various branches of the human family. Men, women and children in foreign lands have the same needs, appetites, desires, and aspirations that we Americans have. They too dream of plenty, security, friendship and affection.

I am filled with abhorrence at the thought of sending armed forces of the United States into a foreign land to destroy the homes and slaughter the people of that country. Modern warfare makes it impossible to distinguish between combatants and non-combatants, or between guilty and innocent. An effective blockade starves infants and the aged more rapidly than it does fighting men. Air raids over strategic centers destroy not only munitions factories, but also rain death upon women and children.

In this No-Foreign-War Crusade we are saying that there is a better way than massacre in war. Four points are receiving especial emphasis. First, remove a basic cause of war by relieving economic tensions among nations through

reciprocal trade agreements and the opening of the channels of international trade. Second, strengthen international agencies of justice and make us of peaceable methods of dealing with controversies which arise among nations. Third, complete the transformation of the old neutrality policy so that the likelihood of our becoming entangled in a foreign war is reduced, and the policy laid down that all trade and travel in a warzone by citizens of the United States must be at the risk of the trader or the traveler. And fourth, avoid a calamitous race of armaments through the adoption of the policy that armed preparedness is only for defense of our own soil, and not for armed action in distant lands in an attempt to protect American life, property and interests.

Let me emphasize this last point. I have long meditated upon the madness of the race toward larger armies and navies, bigger guns, faster airplanes, and deadlier bombs. Surely the people of the United States do not desire their government to participate in this suicidal race of armaments. How large an army and navy do we need? The answer is crystal clear: an army and navy powerful enough to protect our shores. That is all we need. We have no business preparing to fight in Europe or Asia. Therefore, citizens should insist that their government accept the policy of preparedness ^{only} for defense of our own soil, and that it reject the policy of preparedness to fight anywhere on the globe where our property is jeopardized or our interests threatened.

No greater task lies before men than the organization of peace. Everyone gives lip service to peace. But we must do more. We must organize for peace. I am so convinced of this that I have resolved to devote most of the remainder of my life to efforts toward peace.

Can we, as individuals, do more than make an earnest declaration of our convictions? I think we can. I believe, indeed, that organization for

peace is far more an individual matter than we have thought. Many of us have said, in effect, "We will urge those in control of the government to do something about peace." When statesmen and other leaders try, and do not seem to succeed very well, or perhaps even do not seem to try very hard, we shrug our shoulders and say, "We at least did our part." Did we? What is our part?

The first step, I believe, is to inform ourselves and our children as to what is involved in the choices to be made.

A second step, perhaps, is to study war and violence as institutions, and to reach conclusions about them. Is violence effective? Is war an efficient method of settling disputes? Disregarding ethical considerations, bloodshed, ruined lives, biological consequences, and the like, does war do the immediate job of settling international disputes?

A third step individuals can take, perhaps, is to inform themselves as to what is really necessary for peace. Can nations live side by side in amity? We know, of course, that they can. The classic instance is Canada and the United States, two countries having the longest common frontier of any nations - without one mile of frontier fortified - and not in a century and a quarter has there been war, or the serious threat of war. The countries of the Scandinavian peninsula, also, have not known war for more than a century. We need to study such instances in order to discover the lessons they teach.

The final thing, of course, after having informed ourselves, is to take positive action toward the realization of our beliefs. Of the "way", I am not so sure - nor am I sure that any one way is the only way. Perhaps what we chiefly need is a new spirit in world affairs - a spirit of tolerance. Perhaps, too, more emphasis on the spiritual, less on the material. I would not want to close my mind to any proposal honestly and competently made for the purpose of furthering peace. I am impressed, for instance, by much that the advocates of

nonviolent resistance say, because that program does not leave the question of war or peace to a handful of leaders, but (in the words of one of them) insists that "every single individual of every race, nation, occupation, and all ages above infancy, can do something real and immediate and continuous for peace."

For my own part, I am sufficiently optimistic to believe that if the men of goodwill living in the nations which were under arms in 1914-18 were to demand it, a six-month moratorium on war would be declared by their Governments. Such an armistice for six months would, above all, give us time to think. And those who always pay for wars in blood and treasure could reflect on this indubitable fact: that nations of the world are like so many families crowded into a wooden apartment house, that if one starts a fire all are imperilled. Meanwhile, statesmen would be encouraged by ~~the mounting~~ mounting public opinion to meet in friendly conferences. Unharassed by the pressure of emergency, they could adjust conflicting interests and reduce those tensions which, unless they are checked, will throw civilization itself into a new Dark Age.

*written by K. P.
adapted from his speeches
etc.*

(Rapid reading will be required to cover this in ten minutes)

To the Editor of The Christian Century:

April 11th will be observed widely throughout the United States as no-foreign-war Sunday. Numerous ministers will devote their sermons to a consideration of ways and means of keeping out of war in Europe and Asia. Young peoples' societies and adult classes will in many cases concentrate upon this vital theme.

This participation will be part of the no-foreign-war crusade, which is being promoted by the emergency peace campaign as its fourth cycle, with Admiral Richard E. Byrd as Honorary Chairman, and Harry Emerson Fosdick as chairman. This crusade is an endeavor to make articulate the widespread popular sentiment against sending American troops to Europe or Asia and to promote methods of making this desire effective.

Two significant criticisms are being directed toward this crusade. Many absolute pacifists are deploring its half-way character and are urging that the slogan "no-war crusade" be substituted. The charge is also being made that the crusade will be isolationist in effect, that it will tend to strengthen the convictions of many citizens of this country that we will do well to let Europeans and Asiatics "stew in their own juice."

Supporters of the crusade call attention to two significant facts: first, countless Americans who would feel obliged to support their government in waging war against an invader of our own soil, are nevertheless insistent that we keep out of war in Europe and Asia. And, second, there is little likelihood of this country being called upon to take up arms within the next few years to repel an invader, but there is an ominous possibility that we may be drawn into a general European or Asiatic war. If therefore sufficient unity could be secured to keep our government from engaging in war on the other side of the Atlantic or the Pacific, there would remain only a slight possibility that we would go to war at all. For this reason many extreme pacifists are enthusiastically supporting the crusade.

The members of the council of the emergency peace campaign are overwhelmingly opposed to isolationism. They point out that this crusade offers a superb opportunity to demonstrate to the American people that if they desire to keep out of war in Europe and Asia they must support four proposals: (1) help to relieve economic distress in other lands and thus ease economic tensions by opening the channels of trade; (2) strengthen international agencies of justice, including membership by the United States in the World Court and in the League of Nations on terms that are consistent with the Briand-Kellogg Pact and that safeguard the right of this country to refrain from armed action in foreign lands; (3) avoid a race of armaments by changing the military and naval policy of this country from one of preparedness to fight anywhere on earth in seeking to protect American life, property and interests to a policy of preparedness to defend our own soil only, as a first step toward total disarmament; (4) complete the adoption of a program of mandatory embargo against the sale of war implements to all belligerents and of a mandatory embargo against the sale of oil, cotton, iron, and other war materials in excess of normal peacetime requirements, sales being permitted up to the limit of a quota based upon a five-year average on condition that these commodities be paid for in cash and carried away in ships of other countries than the United States. The no-foreign-war crusade is isolationish only in the sense of being isolationist-from-war in foreign lands.

Ministers and teachers and leaders of young peoples' societies who desire to observe no-foreign-war Sunday on April 11th may secure a free 48-page handbook and a discussion outline with ample factual data from the nearest area office of the emergency peace campaign, or from the national office of the EPC at 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia.

Do any of us have more urgent business than the task of helping to keep the United States out of war and of working for world peace?

Kirby Page.

Speech by Kirby Page

*Radio Talk
over National Hook-up
with George
Sanborn*

Let me begin with a question: How do you account for the fact that while an enormous majority of people everywhere desire peace and friendship, the nations are now rushing so swiftly toward war? All competent observers are agreed that in Europe and in Asia the situation is becoming more alarming and that there is abundant reason to fear that a great war will break out within two or three years.

Why? Because governments are following policies made necessary by the ideas and emotions of nationalism; policies which transform the economic competition of private traders and financiers into quarrels among governments. If war is to be averted, governmental policies must be changed drastically. But governmental policies cannot be changed until the popular ideas and emotions of the masses are changed.

The Emergency Peace Campaign was brought into being for the purpose of helping to keep the United States out of war and to promote world peace. In four ways it seeks to accomplish this end. First, by strengthening pacific alternatives to armed conflict; second, by bringing about such political and economic changes as are essential to a just and peaceable world order. Third, by recruiting and uniting in a dynamic movement all organizations and individuals who are determined not to approve of or participate in war; and fourth, by acquainting peace-minded people with the program and policies of the member organizations of the National Peace Conference and other peace groups.

The Emergency Peace Campaign was initiated by Quakers and members of other peace groups. Its executive director is Mr. Ray Newton, who is also Peace Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee. Its national chairman is Dr. W. O. Mendenhall, President of Whittier College. On its council are many outstanding leaders of numerous peace agencies, and it represents a wide range of cooperation on the part of men and women of varying points of view. Its leaders agree in their determination to keep the United States out of war and in their eagerness to promote

world peace, even though they differ in their judgments concerning methods and differ in the degree of their opposition to war.

The Emergency Peace Campaign seeks to keep the United States out of war and to promote world peace by a varied program of activities. First, mass meetings and conferences are being held in 300 cities between now and May 18th. Outstanding teams made up of 250 speakers who are donating their time will visit all sections of the country, seeking to arouse, inform and organize citizens for concerted pressure in behalf of peace education and peace legislation. This series of meetings is being sponsored by a distinguished company of citizens. Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick is Chairman of the National Sponsors. Among these sponsors are Mrs. Grace Morrison Poole, past president of the General Federation of Womens Club; Kathleen Norris, Dorothy Canfield Fisher and Zona Gale, three outstanding novelists; Frank E. Gannett, Clark Howell and William Allen White, newspaper publishers; Norman Thomas, Reinhold Niebuhr, Nevin Sayre, Sherwood Eddy; Bishop Freeman, Bishop Baker, Rabbi Wise; President Mordecai Johnson of Howard University, President Frank Graham of the University of North Carolina; Charles P. Taft, Henry Dennison, General Smedley D. Butler. A distinguished company of Southern sponsors has been assembled by Bishop Kern and Dean Elbert Russell of Duke University. In other regions also these meetings are being sponsored by representative citizens.

In October it is planned to send outstanding teams to some 500 cities and next January to a thousand different cities.

A second type of activity is to furnish young men and women with an opportunity to volunteer for peace education and action in rural areas where, under mature leadership, groups of five or ten young men and women carefully selected and adequately trained, will spend several months in strategic rural areas discussing the complex problems of world peace, and helping to develop effective forms of political action in behalf of peace legislation. Other young people will be stimulated to go out in deputations from colleges, churches and other agencies for the purpose of awakening, informing and organizing other young people for peace. It is just as

logical that they should give themselves for peace as to give themselves for war.

Third, a nation-wide poll of attitudes toward war and peace will be conducted.

Fourth, churches, synagogues, and other religious groups have within them many people determined to get rid of war because it undermines everything for which they stand. The campaign will seek to increase, unify and make more effective this will to peace.

Fifth, dedication meetings will be held during which covenants of peace will be entered into by persons who are determined not to approve of or participate in war and by those who will participate only to repel an armed invasion of continental United States.

Sixth, The Emergency Peace Campaign will attempt a far-reaching program to further peace thinking and activity among farmers, organized workers, business and professional men, and women's clubs.

Seventh, through a publicity department and an information bureau, there will be a wide distribution of literature and news releases to the press of the nation. A small four-page bi-weekly, entitled World Events and edited by Devere Allen, is being published, and is being used to keep members of the campaign in touch with developments.

In these and other ways the Emergency Peace Campaign is seeking to enlist the cooperation and active support of all citizens who desire to keep this country out of war and to promote world peace. Because the threat of war is so great, there is no time to be lost. Many people must lay down their present tasks, important as they are, and throw themselves into this great struggle for peace. They must give themselves with the same sacrificial devotion with which millions in 1914-1918 gave themselves for war. There is yet time to make effective the will to peace which now prevails throughout this land. Through a united, sacrificial endeavor this country can be kept out of war. Let me plead with all who listen: Sacrifice for peace now. It is the only hope of avoiding tremendous sacrifices for war later. Do your sacrificing NOW!

KIRBY PAGE
347 Madison Avenue
New York

To the Editor:

A three-inch box is all the space required for the enclosed feature.

The craze for biography which is sweeping the country insures the alert interest of your readers in this series of birthday messages.

The cost is negligible - only \$15 per month or \$150 for the entire year.

The first publication that wires its acceptance will be granted exclusive rights in that city.

Sincerely yours,

Kirby Page.

T O D A Y ' S B I R T H D A Y

J. G. Frazer

January 1, 1854

Authority on primitive peoples

The Miris of Assam prize tiger's flesh as food for men: it gives them strength and courage. But it is not suited for women, it would make them strong-minded! The Caribs abstained from the flesh of pigs lest it should cause them to have small eyes like pigs; and they refused to partake of tortoises from a fear that if they did so they would become heavy and stupid like the animal. Many ancient people fancy that if you eat the eyeballs of an owl you will be able to see in the dark. (Selected by Kirby Page)

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A Feature for Daily Newspapers

Each day throughout the year an arresting or challenging comment, about 75 words in length, will be quoted from some notable person, the anniversary of whose birth occurs on that day. Three inches or less of a single column box will be sufficient space.

The persons selected include men and women of different centuries and from many lands. Various professions are represented, including statesmen, explorers, dramatists, clergymen, labor leaders, sportsmen, poets, literary critics and editors.

This feature will be available to only one newspaper in each city.

This series is being selected by Kirby Page, Editor of The World Tomorrow; author of ten books and numerous pamphlets and articles.

The general idea behind the series is indicated by the following:

T O D A Y ' S B I R T H D A Y

J. G. Frazer
January 1, 1854
Authority on primitive peoples

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T O D A Y ' S B I R T H D A Y

William Lyon Phelps
January 2, 1865
Professor at Yale University

We live every moment amid forces so colossal that the imagination boggles at them. Since I began to write this essay I have travelled millions of miles in space. Since I began to write this sentence I have been whirled many miles at terrific velocity. Yet I have felt no giddiness and no jar..... It appears to me not unreasonable to infer that the regularity and the precision of these colossal forces indicate a mentality so great that in comparison the mind of Edison is puny. (Selected by Kirby Page.)

T O D A Y ' S B I R T H D A Y

Marcus Tullius Cicero
Born January 3, 106 B.C.
Murdered December 7, 43 B.C.
Roman statesman and orator.

So close does falsehood approach to truth, that the wise man would do well not to trust himself on the narrow ledge..... There is no house so strong, no state so firmly established, that it may not be levelled to the ground by internal hatreds and dissensions..... So far as the mob is concerned, it is never an un-biassed judge of man's worth, being swayed either by malice or by partiality..... Those who desire to be feared cannot but fear those by whom they are feared. (Selected by Kirby Page.)

T O D A Y ' S B I R T H D A Y

J. L. C. Grimm
Born January 4, 1785
Died September 20, 1863
German philologist and mythologist

Ancient superstitions: He that looks in the mirror at night, sees the devil there..... If a spider crawls on your coat in the morning, you'll be happy that day..... To put a clean shirt on of a Friday is good for the gripes..... If after washing you wipe your

hands on the tablecloth, you'll get warts.....Eat milk on Shrove Tuesday, and you'll not be sunburnt in the summer.....If a child has convulsions, lay a horseshoe under its pillow.....To cut the finger and toe nails on Friday is good for the toothache..... If you are in league with the devil, and want to cheat him, don't wash or comb for seven years. (Selected by Kirby Page.)

T O D A Y ' S B I R T H D A Y

Rudolph Eucken
January 5, 1846
Eminent German philosopher

Our question was whether today we can still be Christians. Our answer is that we not only can but must be Christians - only, however, on the one condition that Christianity be recognized as a progressive historic movement still in the making, that it be shaken free from the numbing influence of ecclesiasticism and placed upon a broader foundation. Thus here lies the task of our time and the hope of the future. (Selected by Kirby Page.)

T O D A Y ' S B I R T H D A Y

Carl Sandburg
January 6, 1878
American poet and author

The buffaloes are gone.
And those who saw the buffaloes are gone.
Those who saw the buffaloes by thousands and how
they pawed the prairie sod into dust with their
hoofs, their great heads down pawing on in a
great pageant of dusk,
Those who saw the buffaloes are gone.
And the buffaloes are gone.
(Selected by Kirby Page from Smoke and Steel,
published by Harcourt, Brace & Company.)

T O D A Y ' S B I R T H D A Y

Millard Fillmore
Born January 7, 1800
Died March 8, 1874
Thirteenth President of the United States

By reference to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, it will be seen that the aggregate receipts for the last fiscal year amounted to \$52,312,979, which with the balance in the Treasury on the 1st of July 1850, gave as the available means for the year the sum of \$58,917,524.....The total imports for the year ending June 30, 1851, were \$215,725,995. The exports for the same period were \$217,517,130..... The public debt on the 20th ultimo was \$62,560,395.....The expenditures of the War Department for the year ending 30th June last were \$9,060,268.
(Selected by Kirby Page.)

J A N U A R Y

January 1 - J. G. Frazer
January 2 - Wm. Lyon Phelps
January 3 - Cicero
January 4 - J. L. C. Grimm
January 5 - Rudolph Eucken
January 6 - Carl Sandburg
January 7 - President Fillmore
January 8 - Alfred Russell Wallace
January 9 - Carrie Chapman Catt
January 10 - Count Okuma
January 11 - Wm. James
January 12 - Jack London
January 13 - Chief Justice Chase
January 14 - Henrik Van Loon
January 15 - Meliere
January 16 - Wm. Roscoe Thayer
January 17 - Benjamin Franklin
January 18 - Daniel Webster
January 19 - Robert E. Lee
January 20 - Richard Le Galliene
January 21 - Stonewall Jackson
January 22 - Lord Byron
January 23 - Constant Coquelin
January 24 - Joseph H. Choate
January 25 - Robert Burns
January 26 - Roy Chapman Andrews
January 27 - Samuel Gompers
January 28 - Chinese Gordon
January 29 - Romain Rolland
January 30 - Walter J. Damrosch
January 31 - James G. Blaine

F E B R U A R Y

February 1 - Victor Herbert
February 2 - Havelock Ellis
February 3 - Horace Greely
February 4 - Charles Lindberg
February 5 - Dwight L. Moody
February 6 - Henry Irving
February 7 - Charles Dickens
February 8 - John Ruskin
February 9 - George Ade
February 10 - Charles Lamb
February 11 - Thomas A. Edison
February 12 - Abraham Lincoln
February 13 - Talleyrand
February 14 - Israel Zangwill
February 15 - Elihu Root
February 16 - Henry Adams

February 17 - Ernst Troeltsch
February 18 - Charles Schwab
February 19 - Copernicus
February 20 - Joseph Jefferson
February 21 - Cardinal Newman
February 22 - George Washington
February 23 - W. E. B. DuBois
February 24 - G. W. Curcio
February 25 - Benedetto Croce
February 26 - Victor Hugo
February 27 - Henry W. Longfellow
February 28 - Wilfred T. Grenfell

M A R C H

March 1 - Wm. Dean Howells
March 2 - Pope Leo XIII
March 3 - Wm. Green
March 4 - Channing Pollock
March 5 - H. Pyle
March 6 - Elizabeth Browning
March 7 - Luther Burbank
March 8 - Justice Holmes
March 9 - William Cobbett
March 10 - J. Wasserman
March 11 - T. Tasso
March 12 - A. S. Ochs
March 13 - Oswald Garrison Villard
March 14 - Maxim Gorky
March 15 - Andrew Jackson
March 16 - James Madison
March 17 - Rabbi Stephen J. Wise
March 18 - Grover Cleveland
March 19 - Wm. Jennings Bryan
March 20 - C. W. Eliot
March 21 - Bach
March 22 - Norman Hapgood
March 23 - Justice Florence E. Allen
March 24 - Wm. Morris
March 25 - Justice Sutherland
March 26 - W. E. H. Lecky
March 27 - Röntgen
March 28 - Aristide Briand
March 29 - President Tyler
March 30 - John Fiske
March 31 - Descartes

To be continued throughout the year.

WE CAN'T GET AWAY WITH IT!

A Third World War Would Destroy Us Too

by Kirby Page

The Good Book says that our sins are sure to find us out. Some sins are retail, some are wholesale. Some sins are personal, some are group. The habit of stealing, the habit of wife-beating, the habit of drunkenness - all these are sure to find us out. The habit of war has already destroyed fourteen civilizations.

The Lord Jesus warned that those who take the sword shall perish by the sword. There is a moral law of sowing and reaping just as strawberries do not come from thistle seed. Evildoing does not bring forth a good harvest. It takes cotton seed to produce bales of cotton. From now until the crack of doom nobody ever will get a good crop of corn from crab-grass seed. So hatred does not bring forth love. Vengeance does not produce friendly cooperation. Violence does not make men good. War does not produce peace.

One of the greatest historians Professor Toynbee points out that sixteen civilizations have perished and that fourteen of these were destroyed in war. Some years ago my wife and I stood on the spot where the capital of ancient Babylon had been, but the glory which was Babylon had disappeared forever. Every few years scientists dig up new evidence of an ancient city buried beneath the wreckage of war. The statement of Jesus that those who take the sword perish by the sword is simply a description of what has actually happened to fourteen civilizations.

We had better take a good look at the destructive power now held in our hands - and in those of Russian communists. Go back with me to the year 1916 when I saw several German Zeppelin raids on English cities. The fact is that in all the German air raids in all the First World War the number killed and wounded was just under five thousand persons. In World War II a thousand American and Allied planes concentrated their fire upon the German city of Dresden, with the result that 250,000 men, women and children were killed or wounded within 48 hours. The atomic bomb dropped on the Japanese city of Hiroshima killed 100,000, wounded another 100,000, and destroyed a huge city.

But all this is history. Warfare in the future would be vastly more destructive. If all-out shooting war comes, the Russian communists are ruthless enough to use whatever weapons they have and our side will retaliate with all the weapons we have. It is probable that the United States now has a thousand atomic bombs of a greatly improved type. As far back as 1945 the spy Klaus Fuchs revealed top American atomic secrets to Russian agents. The Soviet Government is a dictatorship and has been able to concentrate upon the production of atomic bombs.

Scientists are now telling us that it will be cheaper to fight with ~~atomic~~ atomic dust, countless particles of atomic energy, released in the air, especially in a storm. President Truman recently informed us that a big area in South Carolina is being taken over by the government for the purpose of manufacturing hydrogen bombs. We are told that a hydrogen bomb may be powerful enough to demolish throughout an area of 300 square miles. And we can only guess about secret weapons now ready to use.

Many months ago Secretary Symington told Baylor University students in Waco, Texas, that they are within hitting distance of Russian bombing planes. Submarines now have a cruising range of ~~2000~~ 10,000 miles and can carry atomic and ~~infectious~~ disease-germ weapons to the corners of the seven seas. Rockets and other mechanically guided missiles are rapidly being improved. Soon every human being on this wide earth will be within the battle zone.

Scientists are now telling us that we dare not get involved in all out-side Third World War if our civilization is to survive. The nations now have enough power to destroy the big cities, demolish transportation and communication centers, poison the ~~atmosphere~~ air and bring about destruction too awful to think about.

The Great Teacher was right about it. The people who depend upon war are destroyed by war. Our sins really do find us out. God is not mocked, we actually reap what we sow.

"NATIONAL DEFENSE WITHOUT WAR"

FIRST PART (@ 70 page)

—THE KEYS

Chapter Headings

Summary Statement

Brothers and sisters in the Lord -- greetings from a church member to whom it has been shown wars are no longer necessary for the church. To Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772) and others it has been revealed that the returning Savior will save humanity from destruction by atomic bombs.

(signed) -- W. P. Rawlinson.

The First and Last of Defense

The Lord's presence, insofar as it is received, is total defense from evil both natural and spiritual. The church receiving the Lord at Pentecost was ruined by the world; signs are found in the Acts and the epistles themselves. In our time the Lord's new church (its revelation was given in full to Swedenborg) must not be ruined; the scientific age is one of its by-products.

Two Golden Keys

Do good things to your enemies, instead of bad ones, for the Lord's sake! First we must abandon the bad; then we can receive new good ways from the Lord: innocent equivalents. If no new way of doing something is given, then a new thing to do; at any rate, the bad must be unconditionally abandoned. The crimes and insanities of war must be repented of.

The Commands of God

The principles of defense without war come from the Scriptures or else do not conflict with them. The first act of innocent defense is to test everybody's behavior by the Commands of God (here quoted with comments by Swedenborg) and the gospel of Jesus.

A Key and a Circuit

The principles loom up in the mind like a key, or pattern, or formula. Here is one that is a circuit: mankind is not only like one thing, but like seven. We identify ourselves with each of the seven, and our neighbors do it for us too. But we may really identify ourselves only with what is good in each category; we must eschew evil. This key idea you can carry when you make the rounds of the circuit of the seven categories of humanity: the person, the group, the community, the class, the organization, the nation, the race. (If you have a better plan, follow it.)

A Key Idea Opening Up Many Formulas

Each classification of mankind looms up in the mind like one person. Literature and the Bible describe many a nation, race, city or class with a singular personal pronoun; since the Bible does it, it's authentic for defense without war. A modern nation is most man-like of all, having a head, eyes, hands, teeth, nerves and other "innards." The more highly organized, the more like a man it gets to be. Among formulas made available: the Lord loves all the categories; these ought to love one another and be sociable. Brothers in the Lord, how can we get our categories to do this?

Notches in the Pre- ceding Key, and a New Circuit

The categories only look like persons; it is actual persons who make them behave or misbehave. We can make categories talk kindly to one another, visit and be sociable. The four or five universal kindly customs make up another circuit: greeting, visiting, giving gifts and holding receptions. Now marry this to, or interweave it with, the first circuit, and you get a spiritual multiplication table of seven categories possibly doing four kinds of good things each: twenty-eight types in all

The Ends and Means Pattern

What you want to do is closer to your heart; how you do it, however, is closer in time and space; the difference between ends and means is like the difference between "here" and "there". Two discrete series are involved; end, means and consequences; or motive, activity and result. This is little different from beginning, middle, and finish. It is like the series: love, wisdom, and use. Wisdom is necessary if lo-

to express itself; and action is necessary if the expression is to be of use. For the Lord we must be "harmless as doves, wise as serpents." We must learn patterns of means. Lack of wisdom in the means: this is why the four large categories have not been able to visit, greet and be sociable, while ready enough to do the opposite bad things on the military scale. Defense without war is to teach "all nations" good things.

**The Final Pattern:
Another Multiplication Table**

Any of the seven classifications of mankind might be the aggressor in a situation; and any of them might be the victim. The number of possible pairs is forty-nine. There might be this many possible types of defense problem. Seven more problems must be added if you consider nature herself as an aggressor.

**A Few Final Keys
and Formulas**

It is necessary to endure, at times, the doing of evil; permission of evil is necessary, but evil itself is never necessary. "Necessary evil" is a worldly notion. The presence of the Lord as an incalculable Second Party when you are alone, or as a Third Party when you are with someone else, totally revolutionizes every situation in life; this formula is basic in any equivalent of war. In the Lord's presence we can't defend even wife or country by any evil means. Another key is the true order of the three loves: self-love, love of the neighbor, and love of God. The second is merely a servant of the third, and the first is a servant to both. Knowledge of the secret meaning of the symbols in Scripture is also necessary.

PART 2: HOW A PERSON CAN
CARRY ON THIS MISSION
" 3: HOW A GROUP CAN,
" 4: THOUSANDS CAN.

RESPONSIBILITY, LTD.

By Kirby Page

✓ Discouragement and despair ~~become~~ ^{us} overwhelming when we assume too much responsibility. (We must never act as if we are God.) If this truth were better understood, the morale of workers for world peace would be higher and their lives filled with more joy.

No individual should say to himself, "I must prevent the Third World War." No group should work with the assumption, "We must achieve worldwide disarmament." God does not require success of any man or company. Fidelity is what God expects from us, faithfulness, persistence in doing that which is right in his sight. The results are in his hands.

See this truth illustrated in the life of our Lord. God did not hold him responsible for restoring the political freedom of his people or for abolishing poverty from the land. The high calling of Jesus was to say ^{no} Nevertheless, in spite of everything, not my will but thine be done. Integrity not success was his duty. So he set his face stedfastly toward Jerusalem.

The martyr ^{ed} Stephen was not accountable to God for the conversion of the Jews. His limited responsibility was to bear witness faithfully. St. Paul did not have imposed on him the ~~task~~ ^{of} cleaning up the vice of Corinth. With insight he exclaimed, this ^{surgeon-like} ~~thing~~ One thing I do! St. Francis was not given the assignment of removing the cancer of corruption from the ecclesiastical system. His work was that of a joyful troubador of compassion and love. Mahatma Gandhi was not directed by God to achieve the freedom of India. He was set to the task of faithful advocacy of truth and

non-violence.

God's high demand upon us is to discover his will and do it as best we can. No man can ever achieve more than this. Therefore, it is supremely important that we put first questions first, not ~~How~~ can I achieve success in this cause, but ^{What} does God want me to do about it? And this drives us to the inquiry, does God have a plan for my life, is he endeavoring to reveal it to me, can I possibly discover it, can I do it?

The bed-rock foundation of Christianity is the truth that God is a revealing God, ever making known his purpose and procedure, never leaving himself without a witness. Intercommunication between God and man is the very breath of the Christian life. Prayer is the word which indicates this listening to our Father, receiving forgiveness and guidance and power from him. Always the initiative is taken by the ^S good Shepherd who seeks the lost until found. Ever does the Father yearn for the return of the prodigal, and when the son comes to himself, the loving parent runs ~~hastily~~ eagerly to welcome him back home. Long ago Meister Eckhart realized that God is a thousand times more ready to give than we are willing to receive.

There are conditions which must be fulfilled if God is to be provided with opportunity to make known to us what his holy will is for our lives. We must desire, ardently desire to know what is right in his sight. We must continue to diminish the dominance of self-will, weaken the passion to go our own selfish way. The saints have well insisted that self-emptying is required for God-filling. Contrition and humility must replace pride and arrogance. Commitment and the will to do God's will must grow stronger. And when light floods us, we must walk in it, joyfully and trustfully.

Prayer is the soul's sincere desire, high prayer is dominant determination to do God's will, true Christian prayer is firm resolve to be a faithful co-worker with the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

When peace workers put first questions first they inquire, what does God want us to do about war and peace, rather than how can we stop Soviet Russia, how can we maintain national security, how can we protect the weak. Finding and doing the will of God demands priority. Is it right in God's sight that we make and fire bombs, flame throwers, be prepared to use atomic bombs, hydrogen weapons, bacterial weapons? Can it ever be God's way for us ~~in an endeavor to stop aggression~~ to resort to obliteration bombing of crowded cities? Are there times when God wants us to slaughter vast numbers of women and children/ as we try to protect the weak? If the waging of total war is a flagrant sin against God and man, what is God's substitute for it? What does he want us to do in waging peace? What is his purpose and plan for the peoples of the earth? (What foreign policy would be pleasing to him?) And we must never forget that readiness to do the will of God is required if ~~God~~^{he} is to be able to provide guidance and power. Faith in the practicability of God's way for us is essential to effective action. We must reveal as much courage in doing right in God's sight as men often show in doing wrong. We must be as ready to accept the consequences of obedience as ~~men are~~^{men are} frequently willing to take the consequences of waging war.

All that God can require of us is that diligently and persistently we seek to find out what he wants us to do, and to ^{do} his will with all the power he is able to bestow upon us. By ourselves we are too feeble to ~~determine~~^{determine} the outcome. The results must be

left in the hands of God, whose "foolishness" is wiser than man's wisdom, whose "feebleness" is stronger than man's might, and whose "wrath" is more loving than ^{human} ~~any~~ affection. Therefore we must practice the presence of God and we must practice doing the will of God. We must pray without ceasing.

This is not escapism or evasion. Fidelity is the most dynamic form of action. It is God's will that we be up and doing. Doing [?] what is the crucial question. It cannot be right that we should rebel against God in the methods ~~used~~ used in trying to stop Russia or to achieve world security. We cannot serve God best by defiance of his holy will for our lives. We cannot follow the Prince of Peace closely while going in the opposite direction from his ~~pathway~~ pathway. God requires of us faithfulness and persistence in doing what he reveals to us to be right.

Fidelity is more than the way to render effective service to God and man, it is the means of joy and peace of mind. When we put ourselves in the place of God and assume responsibility for the success ^{Complex and} of difficult causes, we are constantly ~~being~~ torn asunder by struggle and tension. Taking counsel of our suspicions and fears, our behavior becomes feverish and hectic. We are anxious about many things. When the situation gets beyond our control, we yield to discouragement and sometimes are filled with despair. Christians are meant to be serene ^{confident} and ~~unshaken~~ in the midst of compassionate and heroic endeavor. Meekness and tenderness and boldness are Christlike qualities.

The assumption of too much responsibility is crushing. ~~Recognition of the limited responsibility of~~ Finding and doing the will of God is exhilarating. Trusting God is not a substitute for action, it is acting in accordance with his purpose and plan with joyful readiness to leave the results in his hand. Wise is the man who does business under the sign, Responsibility, Ltd.

IS STALIN MORE POWERFUL THAN GOD?

By Kirby Page

Was pontius Pilate mightier than Jesus? Is Joseph Stalin more powerful than God? The universe being what it is and human nature being what it is, which possesses more survival values: evil or good, hate or love, aggression or meekness? In seeking answers two view^s of the universe must be considered, that of Joseph Stalin and that of Jesus Christ, the materialistic and the spiritual.

Scientific materialism maintains that there is no God, no reality in religion, no power of the spirit; and that the universe is materialistic, history is determined by economic factors, physical force is decisive in human affairs. For two centuries Russian revolutionists have contended that men of privilege and power never give up peaceably, the workers will enjoy as much freedom and wellbeing as they are able to seize and hold. The final decisions are made by material power, economic and military. Thus the communist leaders say that revolution is the order of the day, the workers must seize and hold, with whatever degree of physical force may be required. So the Soviet Union is heavily armed and bent upon waging world revolution. Its leaders assume that the outcome will be determined by comparative force, economic power and armed violence. That is the nature of the universe, they say.

But belief in the decisiveness of physical force is not confined within the borders of Soviet Russia, nor to communist circles. Widespread indeed is the conviction that only by military power can the aggression of Russia be stopped. Multitudes of people agree with Winston Churchill that only the American atomic bomb has saved mankind from being engulfed by Russian communism. Our Federal

budget reveals the faith of our people in military power. Year by year we have fifty billion dollars' worth of confidence in military might as the necessary way of dealing with the Soviet Union.

So one side lives by faith in military power as the instrument of bringing about revolutionary changes, while the other side lives by faith in military power as the means of preventing these revolutionary changes from being made by violence. Faith in aggressive violence is matched by faith in defensive violence. The policies of both armed camps are determined by confidence in military power.

Over against all this is the conviction that the universe is spiritual and that spiritual power is the mightiest of all forces. In the beginning God, the supreme spiritual Being, created a moral universe and endowed man with all the faculties needed to live responsibly as a free moral agent. So essential is the power of choice to character and to membership in the kingdom of love that even God himself stands respectfully before human freedom, knocking at the door, seeking entrance, but never battering down the door. Never does God treat man as a slave, a puppet, an automaton, an automatic typewriter.

The spiritual interpretation brings with it a conviction that since man is formed in the image of God and possesses the endowment needed for membership in the kingdom of love, he is able to respond to the loving appeal of God. In every man there is that of God, as the Quakers say. The mightiest power in the universe is the power of God to change the human heart. Because of his very nature, man is convertible, transformable, redeemable.

Thus evil can be overcome with good. There is more melting power in love and mutual aid than in hatred and vengeance. Persistent and heroic goodwill is a mighty magnet drawing into ex-

pression latent concern for the common good. Forgiveness and eagerness for reconciliation weaken antagonisms and diminish belligerency. The hope of overcoming evil resides in power to bring about changes in attitudes and relationships. Evildeers may temporarily be restrained by threats and by forcible action, but these are little more than poultices over festering sores. The Beatitudes reveal the spirit of the new heart and the Sermon on the Mount points the way to the new society. Man really is a convertible creature, with great powers of response to goodwill and loving behavior.

It is apparent that evil cannot be overcome easily and automatically. The impact of goodwill must be sustained in the face of vigorous opposition and at considerable risk. The way of love is the way of the cross. The spirit of meekness to be convincing must be persistent at great cost. The attitude of forgiveness must be displayed constantly in the face of many rebuffs. Willingness to be persecuted for righteousness' sake is required of those who walk the way of Jesus. The suffering of the innocent for the guilty, the power of vicarious sacrifice, is a mighty instrument in the hands of God for the transformation of evildeers. Goodness when revealed dimly and expressed timidly is no match for evil. Alternate expressions of goodwill and hatred cannot change evildeers. To be a loyal follower of the Prince of Peace a man must take up his cross and walk in the footsteps of our crucified Lord. Evil is too weak to overcome evil; faint-hearted goodness is too frail; only radiant and valiant goodness can root out evil.

Time is required if evil is to be overcome. Human freedom is real and stubborn. The evildeer does not always

open the door promptly when God knocks and keeps on knocking. Love is a mighty solvent of wrongdoing, but it must be sustained. Forgiveness possesses great melting power, but it may have to be repeated seventy times seven. Suffering may be required to the point of crucifixion. As much courage and a higher quality is required to overcome evil with good than to resist it with more evil.

Time in this life may be too short for the conquest of evil. Thus faith in immortality is an essential part of the Christian way. God can be trusted, in this world and in the life to come. The human spirit does not perish, it merely moves from one room to another room in our Father's home. It was the intensity of this expectation that fortified the early Christians for deeds of valor and sacrificial devotion to their Lord.

All this is constantly being preached throughout Christendom and sung in hymns by countless worshipers. This is a spiritual universe, and now abideth faith and hope and love, and the greatest of these is love - or is it? The question arises when the faith of Christians is observed in our behavior, in what we really trust? Is God's way really more powerful than the way of Joseph Stalin? Is material power mightier than spiritual power? Is evil stronger than good?

If we are with consistency as Christians to put our trust in military power, we must believe that the way of atomic and hydrogen weapons is God's way for us under prevailing conditions, saying sadly that even he does not know a better way for us now; or we must confess that God's way is not sufficiently powerful

for us as we face the ruthless might of communism. Much is at stake in the answer we give through our actions.

How do we behave when we trust God and place our confidence in spiritual power? What is our Lord's way of dealing with Soviet Russia? When we believe that God is actually stronger than Joseph Stalin, what do we do? Let me summarize my convictions.

1. We must look with recognition upon the Russian leaders and people. They also are spiritual creatures, formed in the spiritual image of God, candidates for membership in the Kingdom of God, with latent powers of response to the pulling power of love. They are children of our Father and all of us are brothers.

2. We must love our enemies with self-giving compassion, confronting them with continuing evidence of goodwill toward them.

3. We must face them with the conviction that they, like ourselves, can be converted by spiritual power, and their policies, like our policies, can be changed.

4. We must not make an exception in their case and say that they are beyond the reach of God's power, that they are so steeped in the philosophy of materialism and so encased in their aggressive behavior there is no hope of their conversion.

5. Recognizing Stalin and his comrades as our fellow-sinners, and confessing our own guilt, we must endeavor to be less unworthy channels through which God's power may flow in a continuing impact upon them.

6. Through our government and through the United Nations we must persistently seek the cooperation of Soviet leaders in a minimum four-point program: (a) using diplomacy as an instrument of reconciliation, rather than as a means of obtaining advantages for our side in the cold war; (b) stupendous efforts to abolish

hunger from the earth, to conquer disease, and to help peoples everywhere to help themselves to a good life; (c) simultaneous and successive steps toward disarmament taken rapidly before the race of armaments plunges mankind into utter ruin; (d) getting the United Nations out of the war business and strengthening its peace-making functions until it is transformed into effective federal world government.

7. In the meantime, we must persist in declaring the judgment that the method of war is a sinful rebellion against the holy will of God for us now and evermore.

8. We must accept the responsibilities of citizenship in a democracy and endeavor to persuade our fellow citizens and our government to stop the war in Korea immediately and throw the full weight of our national power into the waging of world peace in ways that are pleasing to God; spending money, resources and energies on a scale comparable with efforts put forth in preparedness for war.

9. We must no longer be parties to the betrayal of mankind with the belief that preparedness for total war and the waging of armed conflict can protect life and property or long preserve human freedom, when the evidence is cumulatively inescapable that total war means destruction, massacre and desolation beyond human understanding.

10. We must pray without ceasing, for ourselves individually, for our government and other governments of the nations, and having done all that God's power enables us to do, confidently leave the results in his just and loving hands.

117. The Cooperative Movement

The world, which has shrunk to the dimensions of a neighborhood, needs a new unifying economic principle, a principle which will unite men of all occupations, all races, colors and creeds, in a common bond, through their everyday business transactions. This is a need prior to and more urgent than the need for plenty, which science can readily supply if first there be goodwill and the techniques which goodwill can devise.

The consumers cooperative movement is the economic organization of business on the principles of goodwill. It is an expression of the fundamental fact of human relations: "I can benefit truly only as my brother benefits with me."

Business today puts the ultimate consumer under obligation to a multitude of his fellowmen stretching in an invisible chain to the far corners of the earth. I cannot drink a cup of cocoa, view a movie, or give a silver offering without accepting the services of fellow-countrymen and "foreigners," railroad men and stevedores, skilled scientists and humble laborers on plantations and ranches, in mine and mill and forest, near and far.

Yet business, as it is commonly practiced, does not impress me as a system of mutual service whereby every man contributes to every other's welfare. In most business transactions, I am more conscious of conflict than mutuality. I must choose between the claims of competing dealers. I see labor arrayed against capital, farmer "producer" pitted against city "consumer," nation at war with nation--^{in conflict} all over the economic relations which are the cords "close-binding all mankind."

But the cooperative movement is a business system dedicated to service instead of profit and exploitation. Here are successful enterprises owned and controlled by their customers. These businesses have "made" thousands, even millions of dollars, and yet invite the newest patron to share ownership on exactly the same terms as the lucky owners who "got in on the ground floor." They offer savings to all in proportion to their use of the business.

The central problem of the twentieth century is to build a business system which will accumulate capital for expanding enterprises to serve the public, without giving control of the destinies of society to a handful of ruthless, autocratic captains of industry and kings of finance. To the solution of this central problem the growing cooperative movement makes its ever-expanding contribution, preserving freedom of enterprise at the very time its increasing successes put shackles on monopoly power. And the foundation for these successes in the field of big business rests solidly on the day-by-day purchases of millions of common people organized in thousands of relatively small, self-governing community groups.

The beginnings of cooperation in any community are likely to seem small and insignificant. Like the kingdom of heaven itself, the cooperative starts as a grain of mustard seed. A little group of people decide to provide food for their families, or feed for their cattle and poultry, or fuel for their cars and farm machinery. They desire quality goods at reasonable cost. They organize a cooperative enterprise on a neighborhood basis, each contributing his share of the capital needed. They invite all in the community to use their business and share in the savings.

Presently these scattered separate neighborhood food stores, feed stores and service stations pool some of their savings for the ownership of a wholesale organization to serve their needs. As the cooperative wholesale grows, it acquires factories which produce goods its members use. Thus canneries and refineries, oil wells and timber resources are owned by the consumers of the finished products. Finally, cooperative wholesales in different parts of the nation pool their resources. They set up international trade exchanging goods with the cooperators of other nations on the same principles of profits for none, savings for all. Thus what began as a little community business emerges as a world-girdling system of exchange, all of it without profit and under the democratic control of the elected representatives of the millions of ultimate users, owners of the local enterprises.

Before the war interrupted international communication, the International Cooperative Alliance bound together a hundred million families in 39 nations. In the United States alone, consumer cooperatives embrace 2,000,000 families and handle approximately \$2,000,000 worth of business daily. Yet cooperative enterprise in the United States is only a promise of what it may be. In our country cooperative development has been chiefly in the last quarter of a century, and co-ops do only about 1/50 of the total retail business. In Great Britain, with a century of development, cooperatives do 1/7 of all retail business. The co-ops of Finland have expanded in the past half century till they handle nearly 1/3 of the nation's retail business. A comparable expansion of cooperatives in America in the next half century will require untold effort and devotion coupled with the highest business sagacity.

Cooperation has unique inner resources for its task. Cooperative endeavor in itself is an important character building agency. By restoring to common people the opportunity to share in ownership and management of property, it develops the virtues of thrift, self-reliance and initiative. As James Myers, of the Federal Council of Churches, sagely observes: "There is only one sure way to make the masses of people reasonably conservative--and that is to give them something to conserve."

Overlooked in the literature of cooperation, but bulking large in the satisfactions derived by cooperators is what Dr. S. I. Hayakawa has called better individual psychological adjustment. He writes: "Private business, so much a constant state of 'warfare,' leads naturally to neurosis, since competition (both in the business and in the psychiatric sense) governs one's whole life. One of the standard techniques of therapy is the introduction of group and cooperative endeavor in the treatment of the mentally ill....It appears to me that the consumer cooperator (both employee and member), insofar as he is engaged in co-op activities, is under the constant healing influence of the best kind of socialized endeavor, and relieved of the necessity of the genuinely hostile aggressions (against both customers and competitors) customary in 'private' business....It seems to me that most of my co-op friends and acquaintances...have much of the kind of inward peace which is the goal of all psychiatry."

Laying the groundwork for a co-op in a community where there is none is one of the unsung and selfless tasks awaiting those who seek to be worthy of the Kingdom of God on earth. Every successful cooperative will have a mass of members who understand but dimly, if at all, its spiritual foundations. To the majority of members, better quality and savings are the only and sufficient reasons for loyal patronage. But for one who has espoused the high religion of Jesus, consumers cooperation brings to the level of consciousness and of active volition the fundamental religio-economic fact of the modern world, that we are, not merely ought to be, functionally members one of another.

Cooperation puts us in harmony with the laws of the universe--the laws of cohesion and attraction which make all physical and material existence possible. The cooperative movement provides multiplied opportunities for the interplay of personalities which is the basic substance of society. It ^{brings} ~~transitions~~ the second great commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," ^{down from the clouds} ~~from a nebulous, / phone / wish /~~ to its proper place, the fundamental law of economics.

* * * * *

"Cooperative organizations are a remarkable demonstration of the society-making power of love. Judged from a financial point of view they have no chance of survival. Those who organize them usually have little capital, little experience, little business ability. The cooperatives are matched against the best survivors of capitalistic competition, and their entrance into the field often causes a united effort of all their competitors to keep them down, while they themselves are forbidden by their principles to undersell the others. Yet with proper management they have slowly built up an international success that commands the increasing admiration of social students. Their strength is in love. They succeed best among the lower classes who always have to practice interdependence. They utilize strong neighborly feeling, the goodwill of old acquaintanceship and kinship, or the new loyalty of socialist convictions, and the hatred of exploitation. They do not succeed among classes where every man is for himself, intent on advancing personally and quite willing to leave others behind.

The next fifty years will see a long contest for survival and dominion between the capitalistic and the cooperative type of organization. The former is strong through selfishness and possession; the latter through the resources of love."--Walter Rauschenbusch, "Dare We Be Christians?," 1914.

THEY TURNED THE WORLD UPSIDE DOWN

By Kirby Page

If it had not actually happened, you could not believe it. The followers of a teacher, who was himself executed in a shameful manner state, as an enemy of the ~~empire~~, in an obscure corner of a mighty military empire, quickly revealed such attractiveness of character and ~~revealed~~ ^{demonstrated} a way of life with such wondrous beauty that their movement rapidly expanded and became the most creative and enduring force in all that magnificent empire.

Their Lord had gone about doing good, feeding the hungry, healing forgiving sins, the sick, comforting the sorrowing, denouncing injustice, ~~calling~~ proclaiming wonderful words of life, calling people to walk the high road of fellowship with man and communion with a loving Father. He lived the way he taught and in his own person was so godlike that for all time to come men would behold in him the clearest revelation of God's own character, the supreme incarnation of divine love and wisdom and power.

Yet this sinless One became the most suspected and feared man in the land, the most hated and persecuted. So radical was his whole way of life, so much of a challenge to the status quo, that the leaders of his own people conspired with the officials of the empire to execute him. And on the cross of crucifixion he revealed the very heart of God in his cry for the forgiveness of the people who were killing him.

So certain were his followers of his resurrection from the grave that their own lives were transformed and filled with new power and deep joy. Their awareness of the living presence of their risen Lord deepened ~~their~~ trust in God and cast fear from their lives. Their

KIRBY PAGE
POST OFFICE BOX 247
LA HABRA, CALIFORNIA

December 27, 1952.

Dear Blake Smith:

If you consider it desirable to obtain a wide reading of LIVING WITH PEACE OF MIND, would you like to contribute ten to twenty-five dollars to the thousand dollars I am spending on it?

The enclosed announcement is being mailed to about 8,000 clergymen throughout the country. The cost of this is heavy, to which must be added the cost of printing the 52 columns for the year, and the expenses of mailing.

Your cooperation will be keenly appreciated.

Cordially,

Kirby Page

assurance of immortality made them unafraid of death. Their conviction that nothing could separate them from the love of God and the companionship of Jesus drove fear from them. They were not afraid of want and privation. They were not afraid of persecution and ^{apparent} ~~seeming~~ defeat. They were not afraid of enemies. They demonstrated the truth that perfect love casteth out fear.

In their own experiences they found out what Jesus ~~was~~ meant when he warned them that they must take up their cross and face much persecution. They discovered why the prophets before them had been stoned. Men of authority not only fear criminals who fall below prevailing standards, they ^{also} ~~also~~ fear innovators who rise above existing customs and practices. One generation kills the prophets, and it remains for a future generation to build monuments in honor of the men slain by their fathers.

For two hundred years in many parts of the empire it was bodily dangerous to be known as a follower of the Way. Evidence that a man was a Christian was sufficient to bring a death penalty. Christians were thrown into the arena with wild beasts, forced to become gladiators for the amusement of the populace, and Nero burned some of them as lights in his gardens.

Much of the New Testament was written in jail. Ranking second only to Jesus, the apostle Paul was the victim of mob violence, persecution and imprisonment. Yet the New Testament is a book of joy, it bubbles over with zest. Its keynote is Rejoice, again I say Rejoice. The early Christians were certain of God, they were certain of their risen Lord, they were certain of the Fellowship with the brethren, they were certain of life everlasting. They had plenty of reason to rejoice.

KIRBY PAGE
POST OFFICE BOX 247
LA HABRA, CALIFORNIA

December 27, 1952.

Dear Dr. Large:

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It has often been pointed out that the early Christians out-lived the pagans, ~~they~~ out-thought them, ~~they~~ out-loved them, ~~they~~ out-died them. Little wonder, then, that their movement spread rapidly and turned the world upside down.

It should be emphasized that their triumph was not due to favorable circumstances. Jesus lived all his days on this earth as a member of a nation that had lost its political freedom and was in bondage to the Roman empire. For ~~more than three hundred years~~ nearly three hundred years the Christians were without political power, and for much of that time were intermittently hunted down by the state.

Their triumph was due to due to the superior power they wielded, power derived from communion with God, companionship with their living Lord, and the Fellowship. They gave God opportunity, and God never misses an opportunity.

From those ancient days comes this letter from Diognetus to an unknown correspondent:

The very attractiveness and power of the early Christians brought about the tragedy of denaturing and watering-down of its message. ~~That is why~~ Large numbers joined the church who had little spiritual experience and many of them remained only lukewarm and nominal members. The supreme tragedy came when the Emperor Constantine had a dream in which he saw a cross and heard the words, "By this sign conquer." He joined the church, captured control of it, diverted it into the waging of war and the support of the empire, although he was not baptized until on his deathbed and gave no evidence of being a real Christian.

From that day to this day the church in its majorities has

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Dear Mr. Roblee:

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supported every war waged by a so-called Christian nation, and has blessed both sides of every civil war fought within Christendom. The churches ~~sanctioned and supported~~ sanctioned and supported chattel slavery, serfdom, divine right of kings, the Inquisition, the crusades and numerous other the torture of witches, dueling, ~~and numerous other~~ wars of religion. From the behavior of conventional Christians you would suppose that they had never heard the admonition, Come ye out from among them and be ye different, Be not conformed to this world.

The moral of this story is plain, It is not enough for us today to sing, Faith of our fathers! living still in spite of dungeon fire, and sword. Faith of our fathers we will be true to thee till death. We must live as we sing. The challenge remains for us to refuse to conform to this world, we must refuse to conform to racial segregation, to the way of economic ruthlessness, to the way of political corruption, to the way of war. It is not sufficient for us to glory in the day when the early Christians turned the world upside down. ^{also} We must ~~also~~ live with fidelity, take up our cross, and let the power of God flow into our lives and through us into society.

We must realize that when we pray, Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth, we are praying for ^cdrastic changes in things as they are.

KIRBY PAGE
POST OFFICE BOX 247
LA HABRA, CALIFORNIA

December 27, 1952.

Dear Hoover Rupert:

If you consider it desirable to obtain a wide reading of LIVING WITH PEACE OF MIND, would you like to contribute ten to twenty-five dollars to the thousand dollars I am spending on it?

The enclosed announcement is being mailed to about 8,000 clergymen throughout the country. The cost of this is heavy, to which must be added the cost of printing the 52 columns for the year, and the expenses of mailing.

Your cooperation will be keenly appreciated.

Cordially,

Kirby Page

13. September 27. A Slave Becomes a Brother. Philemon.

Sept. 21.	M.	The Faithful Servant. Luke 12:39-48.
Sept. 22.	T.	True Service. Acts 3:1-11.
Sept. 23.	W.	Slavery and Freedom. John 8:31-42.
Sept. 24.	T.	A Change of Master. Romans 6:16-23.
Sept. 25.	F.	A Real Servant of God. II Timothy 2:15-26.
Sept. 26.	S.	Onesimus' Change of Heart. Philemon.
Sept. 27.	S.	Appointed to Be a Witness. Acts 26:12-18.



Since 1875

DAVID C. COOK PUBLISHING COMPANY

ELGIN, ILLINOIS

February 16, 1953

Dr. Kirby Page
P. O. Box 247
LaHabra, California

Dear Dr. Page:

I believe you would enjoy writing the article that we want to accompany the Sunday-school lesson for September 27. As you will see from the enclosed clipping, it deals with Philemon and is the closing lesson in a six-month series from the New Testament epistles. I should like in this article for you to pull out of your knowledge of church history or missions, illustrations to show how the church has often grown by the strategy of submission to forces of various kinds rather than by asserting its rights and power. This assignment leaves you a great deal of latitude so that you may choose the material which appeals to you most vividly as you begin to write.

We should have this article by the first of April and are enclosing our copy paper on which we would like you to write in thirty-nine character lines. We ought to have about thirteen to fifteen hundred words and can pay you the usual twenty-five dollars. Can you accept this assignment?

Cordially yours,

Roy H. Murray
Editor, Adult Publications

Roy H. Murray/nh

Encl. -2

FINDING THE POWER TO DO GOD'S WILL

By Kirby Page

For three reasons, it is possible to do this:
~~An answer to this question is possible for three reasons:~~

God is a living Being with a purpose for human beings; he is a
 loving Father with eager desire to reveal his will to individuals ^{created in his own image;}
 the Creator ^{the creature}
 He has so endowed ~~man~~ that it is possible for him to open all his
 faculties to the wisdom and power of the Eternal.

God is alive - he thinks, he feels, he decides, he acts. As
 Jesus said, he is a working God. It is inconceivable that he
 should be less wise, less compassionate, less holy, less ~~powerful~~
 mighty than our Lord Jesus. ~~Therefore, our Christian faith is that~~
~~God is as good as Jesus.~~ An elderly minister once gave me this
 sound advice: "Never accept any interpretation of the character
 of God which makes him less good than Jesus."

Because God is as loving as love ^{can be,} he must endeavor
 to make himself known to his children, ~~because~~ ^{for} it is the nature
 of love to seek response from the beloved. It is Jewish and
 Christian conviction that Holy Scripture is a primary means of
 God's revelation. Revelation requires revealer and receiver.
 The revealer can reveal as much as can be received. We Christians
 believe that Jesus is the Key who ^{unlocks spiritual meaning} ~~unlocks the~~ ^{may be unlocked} ~~meaning~~ of every
 writer of every chapter in the Bible. In the opening paragraph of
 the Book of Hebrews we are told: "Many were the forms and
 fashions in which God spoke of old to our fathers by the prophets,
 but in these days at the end has spoken to us by a Son... He
 reflecting God's bright glory and stamped with God's own character..."
 God is the same, yesterday ^{today} and forever, and never was less good
 than Jesus and never will be.

Man is endowed with every faculty needed for fellowship with
 God and is trusted with freedom of choice. Capacity to love is
 required for entrance into the Kingdom of God, and only free indi-
 viduals can love. So God always stands respectfully before human
 freedom. He knocks at the door seeking entrance, but he never
 batters it down and forces his way into the life of a person.

*standard by which the
 spiritual maturity*

Thus a man is at liberty to ignore God, defy him and rebel against him. He is also able to open all his faculties to God, seek to do his holy will, and live in comradeship with him.

Yes, there are ways of finding power to do what is right in God's sight, to work with him in creating the good society of earth, and to enjoy life in his home in the ages to come.

The most important of these ways^{is} to strive for Christlikeness, to think Jesus' thoughts, to catch his spirit, to decide as he chose, to walk in his way of life. God's purpose for our lives emerges from his character, and it is our Christian faith that he is Christlike. If we can find what Jesus would have us do in a given situation, we are warranted in concluding that^{it} is the will of God for us under the circumstances. The mind of Christ is found in studying the record of his life and in reflection upon its meaning for our own lives. Mastery of the four gospels is a prerequisite to an understanding of the Old Testament, the Acts and the epistles. One simply cannot saturate himself too fully with the record of Jesus' thinking and doing. The more we become absorbed in him, the clearer our insight into the will of God for our lives.

More than knowledge of what is right comes from walking with Jesus, for he is a powerful magnet pulling us toward the will of God. John's gospel contains these words: "And I, if I be lifted up^{from the earth,} will draw all men to myself." The pulling power of selfless love is the mightiest force in the universe, thus Paul^{led} was^{led} to exclaim, "but the greatest of these is love." The two disciples on the road to Emmaus found their hearts^{burning within them} as they walked with him on the way.

More of Jesus is accessible to us than may be found in the record of his^{the days of his flesh,} earthly doings, for our Christian faith is that he is our risen Lord and abideth with us evermore. This Easter^{that} message means in present-day companionship with him is to be found

our holiest joy and mightiest power. Thus we are led into closer communion with God and stronger determination to do what he wants us to do. Knowledge and power alike ~~flow~~ flow from our Lord. The more Christ-centered our religion becomes, the more ardently do ~~we~~ we seek to know what is right, and the more faithfully do we endeavor to do it.

Jesus promised his disciples that after his going the Holy Spirit would guide them into all truth, and on the day of Pentecost the early Christians as they gathered in the upper room found mighty power sweeping through them. Man is provided with ~~an~~ adequate receiving equipment ~~with~~ which to tune in on God's continuing revelation of himself. As the Quakers say, in every man there is that of God, an inner light which enables him to understand God's purpose for his life.

Prayer in its many forms opens human faculties to the guidance and power of God. The prayer of thanksgiving, with its warming glow of gratitude, prompts^s the individual to live more worthily. The prayer of confession, with its stress upon contrast between actuality and possibility, between present condition and what God is striving to have us become, renews determination and strengthens the will to do right. The prayer of listening, as the soul becomes absorbed in meditation, provides God with opportunity to implant ideas, stir emotion, deepen yearning, and strengthen commitment. The prayer of intercession enables the praying person to become a co-worker with God in the high calling of redeeming and transforming another life.

The philosopher was incorrect who said that the real test of religion is what a man does in his solitary moments. The reality of our love of God is found in the degree of our love of other persons. Out of aloneness and silence come promptings to seek reconciliation with an estranged friend, to be moved with lovingkindness in all dealings with other individuals, and to labor more diligently in hastening the coming of the good society. It is not enough to ~~say~~ ^{Love, Love,} the real test is in doing the will of God. Therefore Holy

Scripture admonishes us to pray without ceasing, that is, to pray while we work, as well as in moments of seclusion. A daily prayer of unhurried length needs to be supplemented with short prayers uttered frequently throughout all waking hours. Brother Lawrence, the old monk who prayed as he washed pots and pans, once reminded his friends that if you want God to be very close to you in your special time of prayer, never be far from him at any time. To which should be added, if you want God to be with you constantly, then spend an unhurried time with him every day. Through time exposures and snapshots, we enable God to make use of all our faculties.

If we are to find and do the will of God with any fulness, we need human help also. Where two or three are gathered, there is added insight and power. There is no adequate substitute for corporate worship in the sanctuary, where aspiration and longing with the yearnings of other worshippers, are merged, where confession is prompted and where commitment is renewed. But public worship is not itself an adequate substitute for the fellowship of a small and intimate group, fellowship in thought, in prayer, in preparation for action. That is why the multiplication of sharing groups is so important in the life of a church. We need to remember that the early Christian church was the church in the home, long before public edifices of worship were erected, and gather together in homes for spiritual sharing. The disappearing art of spiritual conversation must be recovered and carried on in the spirit of prayer under the eyes of God.

Let the individual therefore enter with renewed zeal and deepened sense of expectancy into the search for power to do the will of God. God never misses an opportunity, and we can train ourselves so that we will be able to provide him with constant opportunity.

PRAYER RETREATS ARE POWER HOUSES

By Kirby Page

In Southern California extensive use is being made of all-day prayer retreats as sources of spiritual illumination and power. The results are so satisfying that I am now devoting most of my time to extended conversations with groups of twenty to forty people, assembled for serious consideration of the responsibility of being a Christian in such a day as this, and in unhurried prayer. As a basis of our exploration, we are using these fourteen ways of finding and doing the will of God in our times:

1. Reflect upon the character of God.
2. Saturate your mind with the record of the doings of Jesus.
3. Enjoy constant comradeship with our living Lord.
4. Expect guidance from the Holy Spirit.
5. Receive forgiveness and power in partaking of Holy Communion.
6. Be persistent in private prayer, family prayer, group prayer, and corporate worship in the sanctuary.
7. Experience human fellowship on the highest level.
8. Mellow your spirit by constant exposure to the power of silence, to great music, and to the beauty of nature.
9. Read great books and study the experiences of the noblest men and women of the race.
10. Seek understanding of the breadth and depth of the will of God in all areas of life.
11. Run the risks of doing what is right in God's sight, rather than take the consequences of doing what we know to be wrong.
12. Proceed with confidence in God, and joyously leave the results in his loving hands.
13. Experience eternal life in the midst of time.
14. Value every hour as of priceless worth, and make wise use of time.

The division of time being used follows these patterns: 10 A. M. begin with a long-playing record of great music; prayer and conversation until 12 noon; recess and fellowship until 12:30; luncheon in silence

except for great music until 1:30; session until 3:30; tea and fellowship until 4:00; (some groups adjourn at 4:00); session until 5:30; recess and fellowship until 6:00; supper in silence except for great music until 7:00; session until 9 o'clock adjournment.

An alternate division of time is: 2:00 P. M. begin with a recording of great music; prayer and conversation until 3:30; tea and fellowship until 4:00; session until 5:30; recess and fellowship until 6:00; supper in silence except for great music until 7:00; session until 9 o'clock adjournment.

Some groups meet for an all-day retreat on Saturday, some on Saturday afternoon and evening; some on Sunday afternoon and evening; some women's groups meet for an all-day retreat on weekdays, with husbands coming for supper and evening session. Sometimes it is better to meet in a home with a large living-room and opportunity for quietness.

In every case several individuals of breadth of experience and depth of spiritual insight participate in the general conversation about the deeper issues of life. The discussion ranges from the will of God in personal relations to the will of God in economic life and world affairs.

Here is a procedure which may be used, with little promotion and little expense, by a pastor or a ministerial association, with deep and enduring results. Experience shows that twenty to forty people in a circle can engage in intimate discussion and fervent prayer over a period of five to seven hours. Fellowship in prayer and discussion and action is the breath of spiritual life in any church where "two or

three" spend time together in seeking to find the will of God and power to do it.

I would be glad to correspond with interested individuals about our experiences in prayer retreats, and may be addressed: Box 247, La Habra, California. Especially would I like to know about the experiences of other groups in prayer retreats.

Editor: You may want to print Tennyson's poem on the same page

More things are wrought by prayer
Than this world dreams of. Wherefore, let thy voice
Rise like a fountain for me night and day.
For what are men better than sheep or goats
That nourish a blind life within the brain,
If, knowing God, they lift not hands of prayer
Both for themselves and those who call them friend?
For so the whole round earth is every way
Bound by gold chains about the feet of God.

THE ACTUAL NATURE OF OUR FAITH

SCRIPTURE: Mark 9:14-24

THOUGHT FOR TODAY: When the Son of man comes, will he find faith on earth? Luke 18:8

I n this age of nuclear weapons and the policy of massive retaliation, we should go into the closet and implore God to make plain to us the actual nature of our faith. Not everyone who believes in Jesus really trusts him. We belong to a generation whose conscience has been seared.

We were horrified when the Germans first bombed London. We shrieked to high heaven against such savagery. We denounced the inhumanity of Mussolini for his air raids on the villages of Ethiopia.

Then our own air forces concentrated a thousand bombers on Dresden and caused a quarter of a million casualties, wounded and killed. In 1945 our precision bombing destroyed sixty-five chief centers of Japan; an average of forty-five percent of the area of each city having been devastated.

We have spent more than ten billion dollars in preparation for defense through massive destruction and annihilation ~~and~~ such action seems necessary in the effort to preserve freedom.

We may exhaust the supply of superlatives in stressing the divinity of our Lord while refusing to walk with him on the way to the cross. In the secret chamber of prayer, let us cry to God, "I believe, help thou my unbelief."

PRAYER: Eternal God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ
and our heavenly Father, enable us to live with
peace of mind. Grant us confidence to proceed along
the lines of Jesus teaching because we really
believe in him. Amen.

Kirby Page

La Habra, California

MEMBERS ONE OF ANOTHER or
OTHER MEN HAVE LABORED

SCRIPTURE: John 4:31-37

THOUGHT FOR TODAY: Other men have labored and ye are
entered into their labors. John 4:38

I t is a good thing to reflect upon the diverse
sources of food upon the table. From how many
lands has it come? To how many hands is grat-
itude due?

Bread is a co-operative achievement of God's prov-
idence and the labor of many men. Sugar comes from
the toil of plantation workers in Cuba or Hawaii or
Louisiana. Wheat results from the labor of farmers
in Kansas or Nebraska or Dakota. We eat bacon because
corn is grown and fed to hogs in Iowa or Illinois
or Ohio. Coffee comes from Brazil or Java, and tea &
from China or India. Beef depends upon the hard
riding of cow boys on the great plains of Texas and
Montana. To all these we must add the sweat of
transportation workers, processors, middle-men,
delivery truckers, miners, skilled factory workers,
and the faithful concern of the cook. How many men
does it take to put a loaf of bread on your table?

10
How? 10,000? 50,000?

Each meal should be a sacramental feast,
A eucharist each breaking the bread,
Wherein we meet again our Great High Priest
And pledge new troth to our exalted Head.
For all we eat doth come of sacrifice. (Oxenham)

PRAYER: Our Father, may we never forget that truly we are members one of another. Accept our gratitude for thy providing care and the labor of many men. We acknowledge our interdependence. In Christ's name. Amen.

Kirby Page

La Habra, California

THE SECRET PLACE

DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN PUBLICATIONS
1703 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pennsylvania
Leonard L. Campbell

Daily Devotions for Individual and Family Use

Printed and Distributed Quarterly by
The American Baptist Publication Society
and Christian Board of Publication

June 11, 1956

Mr. Kirby Page
P. O. Box 247
LaHabra, California

Dear Mr. Page:

We are pleased to announce that the devotional article which you were kind enough to write for The Secret Place is among those chosen for publication in the January, February, March issue. This issue should be off the press about the first of November.

A carbon copy of our arrangement is enclosed. If we have made any changes they are subject to your approval. Feel free to revise this copy. If you add anything please take out an equal number of words.

Unless we receive a revised copy by July 6 we shall use the article as it is.

The Secret Place could not continue its helpful ministry without the co-operation of the friends who write the meditations. It is a joy and a privilege to help guide the devotional experience of a million people.

Thanks again for your help. Write again soon.

Sincerely,



Leonard Campbell
E. Lee Neal

Editors

LLC:gd

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Box 179, St. Louis 3, Mo.

DEVOTIONAL ARTICLES

For use in *The Secret Place*
should be addressed to Editorial Rooms, *The Secret Place*, 1703 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.

FORMIDABLE BARRIERS

SCRIPTURE: Philippians 3:7-16

THOUGHT FOR TODAY: The gate is narrow and the way is hard that leads to life, and those who find it are few. Matthew 7:14

I t has been said of Ludwig von Beethoven, ~~that~~ "His colossal genius has never been equaled in the world of music." Yet in his ascent to the pinnacle Beethoven climbed over many formidable barriers. His father was a drunkard, his mother died early, his own health was wretched, he was cursed with a terrible temper, he worried constantly about money, and above all else, he was deaf.

A deaf man composed the world's noblest music. All Beethoven's greatest works were produced after his hearing was entirely gone. Many musical critics consider his Ninth the greatest of all symphonies. When it was first performed in Vienna, the whole house rocked with wild applause. But he was too deaf to hear the prolonged acclaim.

~~From an early age he was forced to practice long hours daily on the piano and the violin.~~ At fourteen he had achieved renown as a performer and as a composer. ^B By his twenty-fifth year he had composed three hundred works. He was to die at the early age of fifty-six, yet so stupendous was his output that his complete works fill thirty-eight volumes. He would shut himself off from the outside world for weeks at a time, oblivious to everything except his musical ideas. His immortal music will enrich all the generations yet to be born.

PRAYER: Our heavenly Father, help us not to be easily discouraged. Help us to be faithful in spite of difficult circumstances. With thy help may we be able to overcome formidable barriers. In Christ's name. Amen.

Kirby Page

La Habra, California

get 13

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March 23, 1956

Rev. Kirby Page
P. O. Box 247
LaHabra, California

Dear Mr. Page:

We are pleased to announce that the devotional article which you were kind enough to write for The Secret Place is among those chosen for publication in the October, November, December issue. You should receive a copy about the first of August.

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[1955]

THE CONVERSION WE NEED

By Kirby Page
Author of How To Pray, Living Joyously,
How To Find the Will of God

(inside cover)

This little booklet has been prepared

- (1) for use by pastors and committees of evangelism;
- (2) to be left in homes in visitation evangelism;
- (3) to be given to every new member of a church;
- (4) and perhaps placed in every church home.

Please feel free to mark this copy

THE CONVERSION WE NEED

Christian evangelism seeks the complete conversion of individuals to Jesus Christ, and thus endeavors to lead them into absolute devotion to the will of God. It is not enough that a man should make a public confession of his faith in Christ, receive baptism, take membership in the church and be regular in attendance at its services. He may do all this and remain a nominal Christian with only a feeble experience of the power and joy of true conversion.

This truth is now being revealed in all our communities. In many cases it is difficult to detect any substantial difference in the moral attitudes and ethical conduct of church members and some of their non-religious neighbors. The number of members of churches in the United States is now larger than ever before, and constitutes a higher proportion of the population than in any previous period. There are more than ninety-four million Protestants, Roman Catholics, Orthodox Catholics, Jews and Buddhists in this country. Fifty-nine out of every hundred Americans belong to some church, and there are more than two hundred thousand pastors with charges in local churches. The total enrollment in Sunday Schools is thirty-five millions, with two million seven hundred thousand teachers.

Yet every pastor can tell you of homes of members which have been shattered by divorce or are being wrecked by constant quarreling, homes where extreme bitterness prevails in these "little colonies of heaven." Many members are moderate or substantial drinkers of intoxicating liquor, and sex looseness sometimes prevails. The ranks of juvenile delinquency include children from church homes. Many members, like their neighbors, are being swept by a panic of suspicion, fear and enmity. Only a few adults do any serious reading, and not many assume

responsibility as citizens. Most church members, along with the remainder of the population, find the struggle of making a living so exhausting that they have insufficient time and energy for making a life. Mental cases are multiplying, heart and nerve diseases are taking a terrible toll. It is clear that something serious is the matter with us as a people.

II

If we are to understand the full glory of Christian discipleship, we must go back to the New Testament and enter vividly into the experience of Jesus as he walked with God in the most wondrous of all comradeships and with people in a life of lovingkindness. God was more real to Jesus than any human being was real. As this experience matured he came to know that God is utter holiness and pure love, and therefore no other human experience can equal the exhilaration of being given revelation of the divine will and having power bestowed with which to do it. The utmost reach of imagination cannot extend beyond the limits of God's wisdom and power and affection.

So radiant, so transforming was Jesus' friendship with God that not even the threat of crucifixion could swerve him from doing what he knew to be right in his Father's sight. This old earth has never seen anything to match the reality and richness of Jesus' communion with God, nor the purity of his devotion to the divine will, nor the quality of his confidence in his Father's encompassing love.

From his own love of God flowed Jesus' love of people. He went about doing good. With compassion he healed the sick in body and mind, comforted the sorrowing, and spoke wonderful words of life. Within the circle of his concern were lepers, cripples, mentally unbalanced individuals, the grief-stricken, and the masses of working people who were looked upon as accursed because they did not observe the ceremonial laws and the ritual. He ignored

the barriers of segregations and moved freely among all kinds of people, and wept over the city of Jerusalem.

The evangelism of Jesus was winning individuals to this relationship with God and with men, this surrender to the divine will, this loving service to the needy. "Follow me," was his constant summons because he knew himself to be the very embodiment of God in human life. He wanted his disciples to be as he was, to share his experience of unbroken friendship with God, to enter into his devotion to the divine purpose, to receive the same guidance and power from God, and compassionately to share life fully with others. Men are saved as they love God and love one another and become absorbed in seeking the Kingdom of God and his righteousness.

III

Conversion in the New Testament is a momentous experience. It is changing the center from self to God, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. It means passing from the death of self-centeredness into the life of God's reign, with new purposes, new directions, new power and new joy. If any man is in Christ he ~~becomes a new creature~~ is a new creature, exclaims St. Paul, "For as a man is in Christ he becomes a new person altogether - the past is finished and gone, everything has become fresh and new. All this is God's doing, for He has reconciled us to Himself through Jesus Christ; and He has made us agents of the reconciliation. We are now Christ's ambassadors, as though God were appealing direct to you through us."

We are called upon to continue striving until we attain that mature manhood which is found in Christ, and are admonished, "Don't let the world around you squeeze you into its own mould, but let God re-mold your minds from within, so that you may prove in practice that the Plan of God for you is good, meets all His demands and moves toward the goal of true maturity." And everywhere resounds the challenge for the new

man in Christ to be different from his unconverted neighbors, to do more than others, to show gratitude to the crucified Lord by doing one's utmost for him.

Throughout the New Testament power is available from God to do his work on earth. The life of Jesus was a continuing miracle of God. When our Lord called individuals he promised them power from God, ~~that they should work miracles~~ and in his concluding conversation before his own crucifixion he renewed this promise, "Truly, truly, I say to you, he who believes in me will also do the works that I do; and greater works than these will he do, because I go to the Father... the Counselor, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, will teach you all things." Paul cries out, "For I am not ashamed of the gospel, ~~it~~ it is the power of God for salvation to every one who has faith." To some the way of the cross appears to be sheer folly, but "to us who are being saved it is the power of God... for the foolishness of God is wiser than men."

Out of Paul's experience came this word from the Father, "My grace is sufficient for you, for my power is made perfect in weakness." He had learned how to be satisfied in want and in plenty because "I can do all things in him who strengthens me." Thus he declares that nothing can separate us from the love of God, absolutely nothing, not persecution, nor tribulation, not death. And throughout he exults, "Thanks be to God, who gives us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ," and "Thanks be to God who leads us, wherever we are, on His own triumphant way and makes our knowledge of Him to spread throughout the world like a lovely perfume!"

Yes, God's power did a mighty work on earth during ^{those} ~~this~~ days. Put your mind on the record. Not many wise were called, not many of high standing. All except a few were poor and unlearned, peasants and fishermen, tax-collectors who had gouged their own people to fill the treasury of the invader, slaves and freemen. Many a flaw marred the character of

these men - frequently they displayed flashes of hot temper and often they quarreled, one had denied that he knew the Master, one had betrayed him with a kiss, all of them had fled in the hour of his crucifixion.

The early Christians lived in a hostile environment. Intermittently they were victims of severe persecution and many died as martyrs. The moral and spiritual climate was enervating and debasing. The cities of the empire were cesspools of vice and depravity, paganism hung like a poisonous fog over the land. Yet such messengers in such an age became so filled with the love and wisdom and power of God that they wrought wonders. Not many wise, not many might^y were called, just simple men and women who were laid hold upon by the "foolishness" of God and by his "weakness."

The New Testament is a book of joy, although much of it was written in prison. Among the early Christians there was much true happiness because joy comes from right relationship, with God and neighbors and with one's better self. They had come to know the holiness and love of God on the face of Christ and through his suffering. Their faith was made invincible by experience with the risen Lord and knowledge that he had broken the bonds of death. Warm ties of fellowship bound them to the brethren.

Thus they were able to conquer fear of death, fear of privation, fear of defeat, and fear of enemies. So a note of exultation runs through the record. "Delight yourselves in God, yes, find your joy in Him at all times. Have a reputation for gentleness, and never forget the nearness of your Lord. Don't worry over anything whatever; tell God every detail of your needs in earnest and thankful prayer, and the peace of God, which transcends human understanding, will keep constant guard over your hearts and minds as they rest in Christ Jesus."

The Christian gospel is good news of the revelation of the heart of God through the character of our Lord, through his attitudes and teaching and actions, his suffering and crucifixion and resurrection. It is the stupendous affirmation that God is like Jesus and Jesus is like God, and that the incarnation is the supreme act through which God entered history.

IV

The purpose of Christian evangelism is winning individuals to entire surrender to Jesus Christ and full devotion to the will of God. Yielding one's life to Christ means (1) recognizing him to be the Son of God, the embodiment of the divine nature; (2) accepting Jesus' revelation of God's character; and (3) journeying with our Lord wherever he leads at whatever cost.

Pure grace is the supreme attribute of God, the costly offering of his love and forgiveness and power to undeserving sinners, even while they live riotously as prodigals far from home. The grace of God cannot be earned, it is an unmerited gift from holy love. It is bestowed for the sole reason that God chooses to grant it. The grace of God is not contradicted by any other divine attribute. In the heart of our Father there is no trace of bitterness and enmity toward evildoers. Not even our worst and longest-continued iniquities can bring to an end God's pure affection for us. His patience never gives out, and always he offers us another chance. Infinitely beyond the most enduring human love is the grace of God, as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be.

So ²⁵~~that~~ Christian witness must joyously proclaim the good news of God's unmerited gifts to his children, and carefully refrain from attributing to God any unloving attitude or action. It must be pointed out frankly that many interpretations of God in the Old Testament are contrary to the revelation through our Lord Jesus. God is self-giving

love and has never left himself without a witness, but the accuracy of the reception of his disclosure is measured by the receiving power of the individual to whom the revelation is given. God never treats any man as an automatic typewriter. A mother can reveal less of herself to a child who is five years old than to a full grown son, and so it is with God. The Bible is a holy book of progressive reception of the eternal message of the living God. The progress is not with God but with the succession of receivers of the holy word.

It should be ~~pointed out~~ recalled that Jesus recognized different levels of maturity in the Old Testament. Several times the record reads, "It used to be said to you," followed ^{by} his own word, "But I say unto you." Where there is difference or contrast between the revelation of Jesus and other interpretations, we must accept Jesus' disclosure of God's character as our own understanding.

An illustration of gross distortion of the character of God is found in the Book of Deuteronomy: "But in the cities of these people that the Lord your God gives you for an inheritance, you shall save alive nothing that breathes, but you shall utterly destroy them, the Hittites and Amorites, the Canaanites and the Perizzites, the Hivites and the Jebusites, as the Lord your God commanded." Because God is as good as Jesus and always has been that good, we know that he never gave such a command. The reception was faulty. The grace of God cannot be reconciled with unlimited vengeance against the men and women and children of six tribes, and we must say so without stammering or stuttering.

Likewise, the grace of God cannot be reconciled with the doctrine of eternal punishment in the fires of hell. The idea is repulsive that our loving Father should burn forever unrepentant sinners. Yet this distortion has been preached for hundreds of years as the very word of God. Of course, there is a hell and it is an awful experience, but God never sends men to hell. On the contrary, our loving Father does everything

that he can do to keep men out of hell. In his great love God has equipped man with freedom of choice, so that it is possible for an individual to honor his Maker or to live in rebellion against the divine will. Heaven and hell are relationships, states of being. When a person lives in obedience to God and in fellowship with the brethren, he has entered heaven. When ^{he} ~~his~~ is alienated from God and hates his brother, he is dwelling in hell. Hell is consequence, not vengeance, and it has never been the desire of God that a single soul should be punished in hell.

The moral law with its sowing and reaping is essential to our well-being and always God holds it inviolate. Thus a man can reap hell, but never will he be sent there by the grace of God. Let it be repeated over ^{love} and over that God is love, pure untarnished by any trace of bitterness or vindictiveness. Alienation from God is as awful as burning in the fires of ^{Gehenna}, the city dump of Jerusalem where refuse was always burning. Fellowship with God is as glorious as life in the holy city with gates of pearl and streets of gold and music from many harps. Symbolism is the language of spiritual experience, and literalism is the curse of religion.

God always takes the initiative in seeking our wellbeing, and when perversely we turn from him, his enduring love pursues us like the hound of heaven down the ways. And since love in its nature suffers when the beloved is in anguish, our God is a suffering Father who takes upon his own heart our sins and pains. In the Book of Romans there is a notable account of the Holy Spirit of God praying for us and groaning over us with unutterable groans.

While we were yet sinners, God sent our Lord to seek the redemption of the ungodly. It is not his will that a single soul should be lost. When Christ suffered on the cross, God suffered with him, and as long as human sin and misery prevail God will remain on the cross. ~~xx~~ In the message of the early church, the Cross on the Hill was emphasized above the Sermon

on the Mount. This is the right priority because the suffering God revealed on the cross alone is able to provide power to follow the teaching of our Lord. The proclamation of the grace of God must be the heart of evangelistic preaching.

V

What is salvation, and how are we saved? Salvation is right relationship, and the grace of God saves us by drawing us with gentle cords of love, not by driving us through fear of punishment. Long ago the prophet Hosea understood the word of the Lord, "Yet it was I who taught Ephraim to walk, I took them up in my arms; but they did not know that I healed them. I led them with cords of compassion, with the bands of love, and I became to them as one who eases the yoke on their jaws, and I bent down to them and fed them." In the Book of Isaiah the source of salvation is presented as the Suffering Servant of God, "because he poured out his soul to death, and was numbered with the transgressors; yet he bore the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors." In John's gospel we find this word of Jesus, "And I, when I am lifted up from the earth, will draw all men to myself." And throughout the epistles the central message is the drawing redeeming power of the cross of Christ.

Thus we are saved by Jesus Christ as we yield to him, surrender to him, walk with him. As we are drawn into right relationships with God and with people that is salvation. There is no salvation by our own works because alone and unaided we are unable to love as we ought to love. But there is no salvation without works that come in response to the persuasive appeal of God. Jesus saves us ^{by} making plain what right relationships are, by deepening desire to maintain them, by disclosing the character of God so clearly that a new relationships with him is established and power flows into our lives.

We are saved by the blood of Christ because he could not have remained faithful to the will of God unless he had been willing to die rather than to forsake the way of his Father. We are saved by the blood of Christ as the sight of our Lord suffering on the cross draws us to him and we take up our own cross and follow wherever he leads. Man desperately needs a Savior, and Jesus Christ is the world's Redeemer because he reveals to us the grace of God and prompts us to love. We are saved to the degree that we love God and love man.

VI

Surrender to Christ means recognizing him to be the incarnation of God, accepting his revelation of the character of God, and journeying with him wherever he leads. Our peril in religion is the tendency to substitute words about Jesus for the acquiring of his attitudes toward life and maintaining his relationships with God and with people. As a minister I know the right words to use in preaching. My problem is the human problem of living as if these words are true. We are spirits in animal bodies and the pull of self-centeredness is terrific. The way of Jesus is so sharply in contrast with preoccupation with selfish animal desires that divine aid is required if we are to follow our Lord. Self-interest is widely glorified as the drive of economic efficiency, and high are the material rewards of successful grasping. Desire for ease, craving for luxuries, pride of place and envy of others combine to make insatiable the love of money and economic power. When family income increases by a thousand dollars, the tendency is to add more than that amount to the family budget, with the result that the drive to maintain economic status becomes devastating.

The competitive struggle is lauded as the efficient way of producing and distributing goods and services, with the consequence that all the bellicose traits of human nature are stimulated excessively. Add to all this human desire for conformity and dislike of being regarded as

queer, reluctance to jeopardize financial status and social standing, plus confusion of thought as to the significance of the way of Christ, and it becomes plain that following Jesus' way faithfully is impossible without divine aid. We Christians say that Jesus' way is God's way, and yet we often declare that it is not practicable for us now.

Our only means of salvation is response to the grace of God and surrender to Jesus Christ. Our problem is to want to do this, to desire to do the will of God. Our hope is in the way of growth, steps following steps. Conversion is more than an act, it is a process. It has a beginning and must continue. Here are suggested steps:

1. An individual may study the record about Christ, pray for guidance, talk with a minister, reach a decision and make a public confession of faith in Jesus as Lord and Master.

2. Accept membership in a church, be regular in attendance at its services, contribute generously to its support, join a Bible class, and make a serious effort to understand the way of Christ.

3. Be faithful in private prayer, with daily reading of a devotional passage from the Bible, and the saying of grace at mealtime.

4. Become a member of a sharing group, with fellowship in prayer, in conversation about mutual problems, in planning ways of Christian growth and Christian service.

5. Practice taking seriously the living Christ, in the home, in the neighborhood, in business life, in the responsibilities of citizenship, and practice, practice, practice.

6. Live with penitence and with hope. Realize that a child cannot learn to walk without falling. Thus it is that we cannot keep from making mistakes and doing wrong. But we can respond to the grace of God who forgives our sins, accept his pardon and receive fresh power from him. After every fall, it is possible to rise again.

7. Recognize the precious value of time, and seek God's help in using it wisely. Spend less time in passively being entertained and more time in active recreation, watching God at work in nature and in creatures, in creative craftsmanship, in listening to great music, in reading great books, in praying and reading the Bible, in serious study of contemporary problems, in joyous endeavor to win others to Christ. Time is the stuff out of which the good life is made and should not be trifled with.

Let the truth be put plainly - unless we are willing to make a tremendous effort, there is only slight possibility that we will continue to grow in responding to the grace of God and enabling him to work miracles in our lives. The living God is now doing for us everything that he can do, the living Christ also is putting forth every effort in our behalf. God could do more for us and so could our Lord Christ if we would yield to their promptings, put forth a continuing effort, make wise use of time, and live with a sense of intense expectancy.

We would call it miracle if
 God should suddenly reveal
 For merely an instant a
 Brilliant star in the pitch
 Darkness of night; if he
 Should set before us for a
 Single moment the radiant
 Glory of a sunset; if he
 Should cause just one
 White lily to blossom in
 Blackest muck. We would

Call it miracle if God
 Should guide a lonely tern
 In unerring flight from
 Pole to pole; if just once
 He should quicken human
 Ear to hear the sweet song
 Of a mockingbird; if to
 One person only he granted
 A Garuse-like voice. We
 would call it miracle if ~~God~~
 God should bless with lovely
 Beauty only one girl on all
 The earth; if within just
 One soul of all races and
 Clans he implanted an
 Impelling sense of duty;
 If he touched Einstein
 Alone with sheer genius.

We would call it miracle if
 God should enable only one
 Couple to experience the
 Bliss of true love; if to
 Just one woman in all time
 He gave the joy of fondling
 Tenderly a tiny bit of her
 Own flesh and blood; if he

Should grant only a single
Friendship through the long
Centuries. We would call
It miracle if God should
Answer just one prayer, if
From all the generations
He should call only one
Boy to be his faithful
Co-worker in building the
Good society; if he granted
The boon of immortal life
To just one isolated soul.
Yes, we would exult in
These miracles of God. How
Pitiful, how tragic that
The very plenitude of
Miracle dulls our vision
And obscures the handiwork
Of our Father whose love
Is as true as the heavens
Are high above the earth.

KIRBY PAGE
POST OFFICE BOX 247
LA HABRA, CALIFORNIA

May 17, 1955

Dear Ray:

Here is a manuscript of a proposed
16-page booklet which can be printed for
three or four cents.

Please give me your frank and
rigorous criticism of it.

Do you think it would be worth
while to send to TIDINGS?

Cordially,

Kirby

5/20/55
Dear Kirby:
This is fine.
I hope you will
send it to George H. Jones,
Editor of Tidings.
Bless you!
Ray

THUS SPEAKETH THE LORD GOD ALMIGHTY

By Kirby Page

An announcement in the paper
Said that at nine o'clock in
The evening the Lord God
Almighty would, from all
Stations throughout the
Universe, bring an important
Message. That is what we
Dreamed we read. So we
turned out dial to God,
And this is what we heard:
"Love kindness and walk
Humbly before me. Let
Justice roll down like
Water, and righteousness
Like an ever-flowing
Stream. You shall not
Steal. You shall not commit
Adultery. Honor Father and
Mother, but never love them
More than you love me. You
Shall have no other gods
Before me. Be still, and
Know that I am God. Ask,
And it will be given you,
Seek first the kingdom of
Righteousness. Blessed are
The pure in heart. Blessed
Are the merciful. Blessed

Are the peacemakers. Love
Your enemies, pray for
Those who persecute you.
Forgive as you would be
Forgiven. Lay up no
Treasures on earth. Do
Unto others as you would
have them do to you."
And as the Word resounded
In our soul, we cried
Aloud: Create within us
A clean heart, O God, and
Put a new and right spirit
Within us. So teach us to
Number our days that we
May get a heart of wisdom.
O, send out thy light and
Thy truth, let them bring
Us to thy holy hill.
Let thy will be done on
Earth as it is in heaven.
Rib with steel our resolve
To rise, shine, and give
Thee glory. Fortify
With intensity our desire
To do thy holy will and
Trustfully leave the results
In thy loving hands. Amen.

May 25, 1955.

Dear Otto:

This manuscript is being submitted
only to you in the hope that sometime
during the next year you will be able to
use it.

Cordially,

WHEN SANITY IS CALLED MADNESS

In the records of Seville Cathedral in Spain, dated July 8, 1401, are these words of its founders: "Let us build a church so great that those who come after us may think we are mad to have attempted it. And to this day the structure stands as "that stone fabric of men's imagination," "a veritable treasure house of art masterpieces, wood carvings and sculptures.

Long before the year 1401, the Roman ruler Festus had cried out, "Paul, you are made; your great learning is turning you mad." And later the apostle confessed, "We are looked upon as fools for Christ's sake." It has often been noticed that a crazy man may consider everyone else insane. To individuals whose lives are made up of drinking and carousing, it seems madness for a good man so to live as to get himself crucified as a public enemy. A person whose light itself is darkness looks upon true light as utter opaqueness. When with tenacity we hold to wrong ideas, those who contradict us are considered unsound.

In the New Testament the world, the flesh, and the devil are denounced as enemies of the good life. Self-centeredness in pursuit of its own gain and power and pleasure is recognized as standing over against God-centeredness and eager desire to do his holy will in deeds of lovingkindness. Little wonder then that the challenge still resounds: Be not conformed to this world! Come ye out from among them and be different.

O thou God of grace mercy and peace, we beseech thy forgiveness for our lukewarmness in responding to thy gracious love. We crave thy pardon for the feebleness of our efforts in behalf of thy Kingdom on earth. Do thy fill us with divine audacity. In Christ's name, Amen.

The Editors invite

Kirby Page

to submit a devotional meditation

for possible use in

THE SECRET PLACE

our daily devotional guide

Address all articles to
Editors of THE SECRET PLACE
Room 601—1703 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia 3, Pennsylvania

Please read the enclosed
suggestions and information

HAROLD E. FEY
MANAGING EDITOR

The Christian Century

407 S. DEARBORN ST.
CHICAGO 5, ILL.

Dear Kirby: Enclosed is your editorial and
my revision. I was unable to make sure
just what your objective was in the editorial,
so I set one of my own, which seemed
related, and shaped the piece around
that... I do appreciate having it, and
more so because, with PH away and
two editors sick, I'm fighting to keep from
sinking out of sight in a sea of paper—
April 4 as ever. Harold

Our File

The editors eagerly and sincerely hope that each devotional article received will prove suitable for and make a strong helpful page in THE SECRET PLACE.

Not all of the articles we receive can be used in the next issue. Some good ones are placed in our "Active File," and we do use some articles from this file. Yes, we do have a "Round File"—number 13, but few articles find their way into it.

Each article is read and graded by three editors working independently. Leonard Campbell makes the final selection. Some very good articles are not good for our purposes.

When an article is received, a letter of acknowledgment and thanks goes to the writer. Some have misinterpreted this as a promise to use the article. Usually it has not yet been appraised or edited.

Do Write

The editors feel sure that if even our busiest men and women could realize how many people depend upon THE SECRET PLACE and are helped by it, they would write and send an article about once a year. Our strongest asset is that THE SECRET PLACE is written by and for the people. Anyone may send a devotional article at any time. If you have been intending to write "sometime" please

... Do write!

ACK 26:19-29
(29)

Suggestions To Writers

Grateful Appreciation

Largely because of the co-operation of the men and women who write the devotional articles, THE SECRET PLACE is being received with enthusiasm all across the country and in other lands. If you could read the steady flow of mail which comes to the editor's desk you would be deeply impressed by the fact that people in all types of communities and situations are being helped day by day.

Our writers find it a joy and a privilege to guide the daily devotional experience of a million people. No payment is made for this type of article but the gratitude of the readers is very real.

The Editors' Responsibility

In editing we try to retain the writer's style and we change as little as possible, but our right to edit must be taken for granted.

The limitation of our page size is very real and often requires cutting or adding.

If your meditation is among those chosen for publication you will receive a carbon copy of any editing we may have done. This is always subject to your approval or revision. We want you to be happy about what goes out over your name.

Information You Will Need

Before writing, please read the following specifications:

1. LIFE-SITUATION ILLUSTRATIONS

Articles most likely to be chosen for publication have "reader interest." This is best obtained by putting people in your article and having something happen to them. Many write about some personal experience.

Not all meditations must be of this type.

2. FAMILY GROUPS

Keep in mind that there will be children in many of the families which use THE SECRET PLACE. Keep your choice of words simple and present your thought in an interesting way.

3. ONLY ONE IDEA

In such a brief article as our page size requires, it is better to use only one idea. Have a central theme.

4. AVOID:

- Subjects which stir up controversy.
- Death and sickroom scenes.
- Illustrations already well-known.
- Heavy theological discussions.
- Nature descriptions without application.
- Criticisms of church people.
- Overworked themes.
- Pious preachments.

5. POETRY

Do not send original poems. We have a five-year supply.

Please quote poetry sparingly. If you do quote please indicate the source.

6. HOW LONG?

About 250 words is the right length, NOT including Scripture and prayer. The prayer should contain about forty words. Select a Bible reading of about ten verses and indicate one verse as a "Thought for Today."

7. THESE WERE PUBLISHED

Study previous issues of THE SECRET PLACE before writing. We receive some good articles but they are not what we need for THE SECRET PLACE.

8. WHERE TO SEND ARTICLES

Address devotional articles to Leonard Campbell, Editor, THE SECRET PLACE, 1703 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa. Disciples writers who prefer to do so may send articles to E. Lee Neal, Editor, Beaumont and Pine Streets, Box 179, St. Louis 3, Mo.

9. MORE THAN ONE

The editors are pleased when a writer sends two or three articles at a time. This gives us a choice and gives the writer a better chance of having one published.

10. TYPED, DOUBLE SPACED

Typing is desirable but not necessary.

It Takes Months

Usually five to eight months are needed for editing, printing, proofreading, binding and shipping.

To Lily Page
Airmail

What Do Americans

Value Most Highly?

WHOM DO WE REWARD most highly for services rendered?

The answer to that question throws some light on the current scale of values of American life. Physicians head the list. ~~mtx~~ They receive the largest incomes, and also have had the largest increase--80 per cent--in average real incomes in recent years. Could this have something to do with the almost universal feeling that doctor's bills are far too high? It might, and it could also have something to do with the physician's concern about "socialized medicine." No other factor is as certain to speed the coming of socialized medicine as excessive fees by private practitioners. ^{are} Second on the list ~~is~~ lawyers. Then follow dentists, men, employees and scientists. Education stands business/government ~~preeminence~~ in the income of college graduates and the *ministry in eighth* in seventh place ~~with the ministry in eighth~~.

By this rating the American people give a fairly low ~~priority~~ ^{to} ~~to their valuations of work~~ intellectual and spiritual development. A national publishing house recently took a full page in the New York Times to give the facts on ~~the decreasing~~ and universities salaries of college teachers. "Our colleges ~~are living~~ are living on borrowed time--time borrowed from underpaid faculty members," it said. It pointed out that the average real wages of industrial workers have increased almost by half in the last 14 years. But the average salaries of all college and university faculty members have decreased by nearly five per cent between 1940 and 1954. A study made

by the Chicago Theological Seminary indicates that the
average salary of ~~ministers~~ fulltime ministers in the Congregational
Christian churches is ~~\$3,184~~ ^{Other denominations may not pay as much.} \$3,484. No wonder the ~~xxx~~
recruiting of teachers and ministers lags! It all goes
back to what the nation considers important. We are able
to finance education and an adequate spiritual ministry.
when we prodigally
But ~~we prodigally~~ spend vast sums for liquor, tobacco,
cosmetics and entertainment and ~~gripe~~ grouse about making the
necessary expenditures for schools and churches, it is time
to ask and give an honest answer to the question: What do
we really want? Have we a deep concern for the welfare of
our children, for ~~the~~ tomorrow as well as today?

"Our colleges and universities are living on borrowed time - time borrowed from underpaid faculty members." This is the heading of a full-page advertisement in The New York Times, by a national publishing house.

Whereas the average real wages of industrial workers in this country, that is, what wages would purchase in goods and services, ^{have in '14} ~~has~~ in fourteen years increased by almost half, the ~~real wages~~ average salaries of all college and university faculty members decreased by nearly five per cent during the period 1940 to 1954.

~~The further fact is revealed that~~ Salaries in privately endowed, independent colleges and universities averaged a thousand dollars less than the \$4,700 ^{paid by} ~~tax~~-supported institutions. And in small private colleges salaries were far lower. Chief victims were senior faculty members, who suffered a loss of eight per cent in purchasing power.

By the side of these figures should be placed the evidence of the rapid growth of school population, and consequent increasing demand for college professors. The full blast of the storm will hit us within ten to twenty years.

In the same advertisement the chart shows a rise of eighty - yes, eighty per cent in the average real income of physicians. This significant figure gives validity to the almost universal feeling that doctors' bills are far too high. No other factor is as certain to speed the coming of socialized medicine as excessive fees by private practitioners.

Adequate financing of education and health requires a more

more sensible attitude toward taxation, for it is absolutely certain that public funds will be required on a vast scale. We must make up our minds as to the importance of education and health for our people as compared with expenditures for liquor, tobacco, cosmetics and entertainment. As a nation we are pl^enty able to finance education and health. They really ~~are~~ ~~important~~ question is ~~this~~: just how important is this to our national wellbeing? And if we say, very, very important, because of the disastrous effects upon the coming generation of a poor quality of education and insufficient access to proper medical care, then the inexorable logic is that the power of taxation must be used to aid in the payment of adequate salaries for professors and the support of public medicine, and to take a surplus from individuals with higher incomes through luxury taxes and the graduated income tax.

KIRBY PAGE
POST OFFICE BOX 247
LA HABRA, CALIFORNIA

RUSSIAN COMMUNISM
IS ~~RUSSIA~~ MORE POWERFUL THAN GOD?

By Kirby Page

Was Pontius Pilate mightier than Jesus? Is ^{Russian communism} ~~RUSSIA~~ more powerful than God? The universe being what it is and human nature being what it is, which ^{ess} ~~possesses~~ more survival value: evil or good, hate or love, aggression or meekness? In seeking answers two views of the universe must be considered, that of ^{Russian communists} ~~RUSSIA~~ and that of Jesus Christ, the materialistic and the spiritual.

Scientific material^{ism} maintains that there is no God, no reality in religion, no power of the spirit; and that the universe is materialistic, history being determined by economic factors, physical force is decisive in human affairs. For two centuries Russian revolutionaries have maintained that men of privilege and power never give up peaceably, the workers will enjoy as much freedom and wellbeing as they are able to seize and to hold. The final decisions are made by material power, economic and military. Thus the communist leaders say that revolution is the order of the day, the workers must seize and hold, with whatever degree of physical force may be required. So the Soviet Union is heavily armed and bent upon waging world revolution. ~~Its leaders assume that the outcome will be determined by comparative force, economic power and armed violence. That is the nature of the universe, they say.~~

But belief in the decisiveness of physical force is not confined within the borders of Soviet Russia, nor to communist circles. Widespread indeed is the conviction that only by military power can the aggression of Russia be stopped. Multitudes of people agree with the judgment of Winston Churchill that only the American atomic bomb has saved mankind from being engulfed by Russian communism. Our Federal

budget reveals the faith of our people in military power. Year by year we have fifty billion dollar's worth of confidence in military might as the necessary way of dealing with the Soviet Union.

So one side lives by faith in military power as the instrument of revolutionary changes, while the other side lives by faith in military power as the means of preventing these revolutionary changes from being made by violence. Faith in aggressive violence is matched by faith in defensive violence. The policies of both armed camps are determined by confidence in military power.

Over against all this is the conviction that the universe is spiritual and that spiritual power is the mightiest of all forces. In the beginning God, the supreme spiritual Being, created a moral universe and endowed man with the faculties needed to live responsibly as a free moral agent. So essential is the ~~ability~~ power of choice to character and to membership in the kingdom of love that even God himself stands respectfully before human freedom, knocking at the door, seeking entrance, but never battering down the door. Never does God treat man as a slave, a puppet, an ^{automation,} ~~automaton~~, an automatic typewriter.

The spiritual interpretation brings with it a conviction that since man is formed in the image of God and possesses the endowment needed for membership in the kingdom of love, he is able to respond to the loving appeal of God. In every man there is that of God, as the Quakers say. The mightiest power in the universe is the power of God to change the human heart. Because of his very nature, man is convertible, transformable, redeemable.

Thus evil can be overcome with good. There is more melting power in love and mutual aid than in hatred and vengeance. Persistent and heroic goodwill is a mighty magnet drawing into expression

latent concern for the common good. Forgiveness and eagerness for reconciliation weaken antagonisms and diminish belligerency. The hope of overcoming evil resides in power to bring about changes in attitudes and relationships. Evildoers may temporarily be restrained by threats or by forcible action, but these are little more than poultices over festing sores. Bad will must be drained away if evil is to be overcome. The Beatitudes reveal the spirit of the new heart and the Sermon on the Mount points the way to the new society. Man really is a convertible creature, with great powers of response to goodwill and loving behavior.

It is apparent that evil cannot be overcome easily and automatically. The impact of goodwill must be sustained in the face of vigorous opposition and at considerable risk. The way of love is the way of the cross. The spirit of meekness to be convincing must be displayed constantly in the face of many rebuffs. Willingness to be persecuted for righteousness' sake is required of those who walk the way of Jesus. The suffering of the innocent for the guilty, the power of vicarious sacrifice, is a mighty instrument in the hands of God for the transformation of evildoers. Goodness when revealed dimly and expressed timidly is no match for evil. Alternate expressions of goodwill and hatred cannot change evildoers. To be a loyal follower of the Prince of Peace a man must take up his cross and walk in the footsteps of our crucified Lord. Evil is too weak to overcome evil; faint^t-hearted goodness is too frail; only radiant and valiant goodness can root out evil.

Time is required if evil is to be overcome by good. Human freedom is real and stubborn. The evildoer does not always open the door promptly when God knocks and keeps on knocking. Love is a

mighty solvent of wrongdoing, but it must be sustained. Forgiveness possesses great melting power, but it may have to be repeated seventy times seven. Suffering may be required to the point of crucifixion. As much courage and a higher quality is required to overcome evil with good than to resist it with more evil.

Time in this life may be too short for the conquest of evil. Thus faith in immortality is an essential part of the Christian way. God can be trusted, in this world and in the life to come. The human spirit does not perish, it merely moves from one room to another room in our Father's home. It was the intensity of this expectation that strengthened the early Christians for deeds of valor and sacrificial devotion to their Lord.

All this is constantly being preached throughout Christendom and sung in hymns by countless worshipers. This is a spiritual universe, and now abideth faith and hope and love, and the greatest of these is love - or is it? The question arises when the faith of Christians is observed in our behavior, in what we really trust.

~~Is God's way really more powerful than the way of Joseph Stalin?~~ ^{Russian communism?}

~~Is material power mightier than spiritual power? Is evil stronger than good?~~

as Christians

If we are with consistency [^]to put our trust in military power, we must believe that the way of atomic and hydrogen weapons is God's way for us under prevailing conditions, saying sadly that even he does not know a better way for us now; or we must confess that God's way is not sufficiently powerful for us as we face the ruthless might of communism. Much is at stake in the answer we give through our actions.

How do we behave when we trust God and place our confidence in spiritual power? What is our Lord's way of dealing with Soviet Russia? When we believe that God is actually stronger than ^{Russian Communists,} ~~Joseph Stalin~~, how do we behave? ^{Let} me summarize my convictions.

1. We must look with recognition upon the Russian leaders and people. They also are spiritual creatures, formed in the spiritual image of God, candidates for membership in the Kingdom of God, with latent powers of response to the pulling power of love. They are children of our Father and all of us are brothers.

2. We must love our enemies with self-giving compassion, confronting them with continuing evidence of goodwill toward them.

3. We must face them with the conviction that they, like ourselves, can be converted by spiritual power, and their policies, like our policies, can be changed.

4. We must not make an exception in their case and say that they are beyond the reach of God's power, that they are so steeped in the philosophy of materialism and so encased by their aggressive behavior there is no hope ~~for~~ of their conversion.

5. Recognizing ^{Malenkov} ~~Stalin~~ and his comrade as our fellow-sinners, and confessing ^{in contrition} our own guilt, we must endeavor to be less unworthy channels through which God's power may flow in a continuing impact upon them.

6. Through our government and through the United Nations we must persistently seek the cooperation of the Soviet leaders in a minimum four-point program: (a) using diplomacy as an instrument of reconciliation, rather than as a means of obtaining advantages for our side in the cold war; (b) stupendous efforts to abolish hunger from the earth, to conquer disease, and to help peoples

everywhere to help themselves to a good life; (c) simultaneous and successive steps toward disarmament taken rapidly before the race of armaments plunges mankind into utter ruin; (d) getting the United Nations out of the war business and strengthening its peace-making functions until it is transformed into effective federal world government.

7. In the meantime, we must persist in declaring the judgment that the method of war is a sinful rebellion against the holy will of God for us now and evermore.

8. We must accept the responsibilities of citizenship in a democracy and endeavor to persuade our fellow citizens and our government to stop the war in Korea immediately and throw the full weight of our national power into the waging of world peace in ways that are pleasing to God; spending money, resources and energies on a scale comparable to efforts put forth in preparedness^s for war.

9. We must no longer be parties to the betrayal of mankind with the belief that preparedness for total war and the waging of armed conflict can protect life and property or long preserve human freedom, when the evidence is cumulatively inescapable that total war means destruction, massacre and desolation beyond understanding.

10. We must pray without ceasing, for ourselves individually, for our government and other governments of the nations, placing our confidence in the powers of a spiritual universe, and having done all that God's power enables us to do, confidently leave the results in his just and loving hands.

All this is made more relevant by the recent statement of Prime Minister Malenkov that "at present and in the future there is no troublesome or unsolved question which cannot be solved by peaceful means." It would be folly to assume that this is merely a trick to delude us. We must behave in such ways as will strengthen his will to peaceful settlement of all disputes.

To the Editor:

This article is being sent to a number of religious journals. It may be used without payment.

It is imperative that THE FIGHTING BE STOPPED before civilization is destroyed in the Third World War. To this end, Christians must be called to prayer and to action.

You may desire to provide REPRINTS of it at cost to pastors who will send it to all families in their congregations, to editors of local papers, and to influential citizens.

You may think it well to suggest that REPRINTS be used as a basis of discussion and prayer in classes, mid-week meetings, women's organizations, men's clubs and youth sessions.

You may want to suggest that readers send REPRINTS to President Truman and Secretary Acheson with their endorsements, and to their Congressmen and Senators.

Kirby Page

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, THE PRESIDENT
A Radio Address Which Might Win The Peace

By Kirby Page

Announcer: "Ladies and gentlemen, for several days now you have been reminded that at this hour the President of the United States would speak to the peoples and rulers of the nations. His voice will now be heard over a worldwide network of stations by more individuals than have ever before listened to the words of any other person. Ladies and gentlemen, the President of the United States."

The President: "My friends, I have sought opportunity to speak to you frankly and intimately because the human race has now come to one of the momentous crises of history. The fighting in Korea cannot much longer be localized. Military action will soon spread until it becomes the Third World War which we have long dreaded, and death may come to your loved ones and to mine.

"I ought to tell you without restraint that I am in a position to know that our civilized society cannot survive a worldwide conflict waged with the weapons now in the possession of the various governments. A general war would mean obliteration and annihilation on an appalling scale. Few of us would escape tragic personal loss. The survivors would be scourged alternately by anarchy and dictatorship. The weapons and the carriers are ready. Desolation and death can be brought to the uttermost parts of the earth. If you individually had access to the secret information which I have as President of this nation and as Commander-in-Chief of its armed forces, you also would know that humanity is now in a desperate plight.

"You will understand, therefore, why I have been much in prayer during recent days. Let me, as a man of religion, unburden myself to you. I realize that I am speaking to men and women of many religious faiths and to some who

do not believe in the existence of the Supreme Being. But I cannot do less than share with you some of my Christian convictions.

"All my life I have been taught that a humble and contrite spirit is pleasing to God. Thus it is right for me to begin with a word of confession. Our sins have found us out. We have erred and strayed from God's ways like lost sheep. We have followed too much the devices and desires of our own hearts. We have offended against God's holy laws. We have left undone those things which we ought to have done, and we have done those things which we ought not to have done. May the Lord have mercy upon us.

"We must confess especially the sin of idolatry, the sin of worshipping other gods than the Eternal Spirit. Too often we have bowed down before the gods of nationalism and militarism, seeking our own advantages and neglecting the needs of others. Too frequently we have trusted in military power, hurling our threats and preparing our weapons of annihilation. Too often we have been driven by our fears and enmities.

"Vainly did we believe that the First World War would end war and make the world safe for democracy, and vainly did we trust in World War II to abolish dictatorship and aggression. I have now become convinced that the use of military weapons cannot bring peace and justice upon the earth. Some day the fighting must stop, and the nations must send delegates to the conference table. Many times in the past we have been compelled to cry out: "Too little, too late." What we do must be done quickly and adequately.

"I therefore propose that we stop the fighting now, and gather immediately around the conference table. To this end, I appeal to the United Nations to call the Assembly into session, and urge the highest officials of all the nations to join me there in a fresh consideration of ways to peace and friendly coop-

eration for the common good. The Assembly should then make recommendations to the Security Council for appropriate action.

"I am, therefore, this day recommending to our Congress that it authorize cooperation on a vast scale with other nations in a worldwide program of economic cooperation along the lines of the Marshall Plan. Whereas in a previous address in Point Four I recommended the appropriation of some millions of dollars for technical aid to economically handicapped countries, I now propose that our Government offer to contribute fifteen billion dollars annually for a decade to the United Nations, as part of an international pool to be contributed by all the nations and to be administered impartially by the United Nations for rehabilitation and economic reconstruction all over the world. I must tell you frankly that I long hesitated to mention such a vast sum because it would place a heavy additional burden on taxpayers. My reluctance was overcome by awareness of the desperation of our plight, and by my conviction that our people should be as ready to make sacrifices for peace as for war. The cost of another world war would be colossal beyond computation.

"I am further recommending to our Congress that authorization be granted to our delegates to the United Nations to engage with utmost seriousness in the negotiation of a universal treaty of disarmament. It is plain that the race of armaments must be stopped if we are to survive. Therefore, I promise you that I will do my utmost to bring about an agreement whereby all nations simultaneously will disarm 'down to the last rifle,' if I may borrow a phrase from a distinguished Senator. I will not cease striving, while there is breath in my body, to bring about universal disarmament.

"Moreover, I am recommending to our Congress that it authorize our delegates

to the United Nations to initiate an effort to strengthen the United Nations and to transform it into appropriate and effective World Government. Our founding fathers took a wise and bold step when they went beyond local government, county government, and state government to national government. The time has now come to take the logical and necessary next step to world government.

"I must tell you how sorely I have been tempted to refrain from making these recommendations. The tempter has whispered in my ear cynical comments about the unbelief of some leaders of the nations, about the cruel and ruthless record of some governmental officials, about the ability of some men to understand only the language of superior military power. The thought has been suggested to me that these proposals would be interpreted in some quarters as appeasement, a show of weakness, and would only encourage further aggression. I wrestled with these temptations until in a quiet hour of prayer there came over me an unshakable conviction that it is the will of God that the nations stop fighting and send delegates to confer about ways of achieving and maintaining the peace.

"Several times in the past I have suggested to visiting delegations that the Sermon on the Mount provides a solid foundation for an enduring peace program, and have pointed out that our civilization cannot be saved materially unless it is redeemed spiritually. I now know that only a miracle of God, a mighty work wrought in the minds of peoples and leaders of governments, can avert a third world war. The wisdom of man is not sufficient for this crisis. We require divine wisdom and divine strength. Time and again I have heard preachers in the pulpit proclaim the truth that some things which are impossible for men are possible for God.

"Therefore, with utmost earnestness let me summon the peoples of the

earth to prayer, each in his own tongue and each according to his own faith.

Let there be a mighty outpouring of prayer for the leaders of governments, that they may be directed by the Eternal Spirit into the ways of peace and justice and friendly cooperation for the common good. More things are wrought by prayer than this world dreams of. In contrition and humility, let us pray that we may know what God wants us to do in our desperate plight, and that we may do his holy will at any cost. Let us pray for faith in the power of the spirit and for courage to walk in the light. Upon the prayers of the people depends the fate of mankind."

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION

An Address by
Kirby Page, Editor, The World Tomorrow
at the
Student Volunteer Convention
Buffalo, New York, December 30, 1931.

"Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven."

Countless millions of Christians have been voicing this prayer for nineteen centuries. But it must be admitted that many of those who have thus prayed have failed to realize the real significance of their petition. Every time we pray, "Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth," we are asking for fundamental and radical changes in the present social order. No sane person could possibly mistake this existing world for the Family of God on earth. Before the ideal society can be achieved, drastic changes must be made in the status quo. It is my purpose in this address to attempt a critical analysis of certain aspects of Western civilization in the light of the religion of Jesus.

The extreme gravity of the world crisis with which we are now confronted can scarcely be exaggerated. An ominous prophecy is found in a letter written several months ago by Governor Norman of the Bank of England to Governor Moret of the Bank of France: "Unless drastic measures are taken to save it, the capitalist system throughout the civilized world will be wrecked within a year. I should like this prediction to be filed for future reference." Sir Arthur Salter, for many years head of the Economic Section of the League of Nations, in reviewing the international situation in the last issue of the Yale Review, said: "This is a sombre, and indeed a terrifying, prospect. The foundations of the system under which we have grown up are threatened. Many of the institutions which have been the main pillars of our economic and political structure may be destroyed or profoundly modified."

"A paralysis which we do not seem to be able to diagnose has overtaken our machine civilization," writes Raymond B. Fosdick in the New York Times. "The year 1931 has seen this creeping paralysis fasten itself with a surer hold on the industry of the world. Fifteen nations, involving more than a quarter of the population of the globe, have been forced off the gold standard. Ten countries have defaulted on their external obligations. Revolution and social disorder have affected nearly half the people in the world. The anxiety that marked the passing of 1930 has deepened. Today the future seems far more uncertain than it did twelve months ago... Western civilization has begun to look furtively around, listening behind it for the silent tread of some dread specter of destruction."

Let us now examine some of the reasons for alarm.

1. The contrast between plenty and poverty is one of the marked characteristics of our present society. Due to the unparalleled scientific and technological progress of the past century, industry is now able to produce goods in vastly greater quantities than can be sold. Every branch of industry is equipped to produce from two to ten times as many goods as can profitably be disposed of, with the result that we have overproduction all along the line. On the farm, as well as in the city, improved machinery has made available an output far in excess of the purchasing ability of the world market. Warehouses are therefore bursting with goods and granaries are overflowing with food.

Control of land, natural resources and the tools of production, has enabled a small minority to accumulate wealth on a scale that was not dreamed of even by kings in past generations. If a millionaire be roughly classified as an individual with an annual income of \$50,000, there were 38,889 millionaires in the United States in 1929, and 19,688 in 1930. In the former year 513 individuals reported an income in excess of one million dollars, and in the latter year the number was 149. In 1930 the number of individuals whose incomes reached \$25,000 was only 60,236, yet the amount of tax they paid was 396 million dollars, out of 474 millions paid by all citizens of the United States. That is to say, less than one-eleventh of one per cent of the adult population paid 83 per cent of the total amount of income tax received by the United States government. In 1929 the number of incomes above \$25,000 was 102,578, and their total tax was 928 millions, out of 1001 millions received by the treasury. Less than one-seventh of one per cent paid 92 per cent of the income tax!

Elsewhere I have published figures for 1929, which vary slightly from the above due to the fact that they were taken from the Preliminary Report issued by the Treasury Department.

Below the millionaire level there are perhaps half a million Americans who are moderately rich. It is to these fortunate few that advertisements of a mink coat at \$6,000, a motor car at \$10,000, and a small yacht at \$100,000 are directed. For the upper classes, America is a paradise of luxury.

Yet poverty abounds. In the midst of stores and shops bursting with every imaginable necessity, comfort and luxury, and in a land where agricultural products in many sections are selling at prices which are absolutely ruinous to the farmers, millions of Americans are facing actual starvation and must be kept alive by charity, while other multitudes endure terrible privations and are not far removed from destitution. Income tax figures reveal a tragic story. In 1930 only 3,376,552 persons filed income tax returns, and only 1,946,675 individuals were required to pay any income tax whatever. The law requires every resident to file a return if, as an unmarried person, his income reaches \$1500 per year, and if, as a man with a wife or family, the amount is \$3500 annually. There are some 72 million persons in this country who have reached the age of twenty-one. Less than three persons out of one hundred pay any income tax whatever.

In the year 1920, when single individuals were required to file income tax returns if their income was as high as \$1000, with \$2000 as the level for married persons, only 7,259,944 returns were filed and of these only 5,518,310 were taxable. That is, even during the post-war boom and with the taxable minimum at such a low figure, an income tax was paid by only nine per cent of the adult population. At the peak of prosperity in 1928 less than four per cent of the adults in this country paid an income tax.

The six millions of unemployed in the United States (it may be seven or eight millions) are desperately eager to find work in order that they may earn the money with which to buy the food and goods which are available in such illimitable quantities. But our capitalist society is so badly organized that these multitudes continue to walk the streets in a vain endeavor to find employment. And when they do find work, the pay for two-thirds of them is inadequate to provide a satisfactory standard of living.

The volume of physical suffering in this country is now so appalling that relief measures are obviously imperative. Upholders of the system of individualism are usually opposed to compulsory unemployment insurance, on the ground that the "dole" is demoralizing, and advocate the American plan of private charity. As if bread lines and soup kitchens are not the most degrading types of the dole! Under the leadership of the President's Organization on Unemployment Relief, a vast campaign to secure gifts for the needy has been promoted throughout the nation. Mr. Gifford's committee has estimated that 170 million dollars will be required for unemployment relief in 314 cities, in addition to the normal budget of 90 millions for charity in these communities. If the various committees actually secure 170 million dollars for unemployment relief, this amount will make available \$170 each for one million unemployed. That is to say, less than one unemployed person out of six will receive a bare subsistence for ten or twelve weeks!

The inadequacy of the American dole system is further revealed by the record of drought relief during the past year. President Hoover is opposed to Federal appropriations for relief purposes. Instead, he advocates the American plan of private charity. Some months ago he maintained that the Red Cross would be abundantly able to provide drought relief in the stricken areas. How adequately this task was accomplished is shown in a recent report of that society, which reveals that food and supplies were doled out to more than 2,500,000 persons during the period between August, 1930, and June, 1931. And the total amount expended by the Red Cross for relief purposes during this period was less than eleven million dollars - an average of less than five dollars per person!

The extent of destitution in Europe is far more tragic than in this country. For ten consecutive winters there has been a terrible degree of unemployment in England and wholesale starvation has been prevented only by a system of unemployment insurance which is so roundly condemned on this side of the ocean. The number of unemployed in Germany has climbed to five millions, with at least fifteen million persons directly involved. From an authoritative source, we learn that of the 32,500,000 persons in Germany who are gainfully employed, 29,500,000 or 91 per cent, earn less than \$50 per month, while 50 per cent receive less than \$25 per month.

When next we pray the Lord's prayer, let us be vividly conscious of the contradiction presented by an appalling volume of hunger and destitution in a world of overproduction and luxury.

2. The menace of class war constitutes one of the most ominous aspects of Western civilization. Everywhere the lines of industrial battle are tightening. Germany is on the very brink of a violent upheaval. The day of armed conflict between the Communists and the Fascists of that country draws nearer. The Tory landslide in England has driven British labor to the left and has enormously embittered the class struggle in the British Isles. In the United States the third consecutive winter of severe unemployment is causing such terrible misery that class consciousness and class hatred are spreading rapidly. The owning and employing class in general is so powerful and arrogant and blind that it will be a miracle if the workers are not provoked into desperate and violent efforts to secure justice.

The world has never seen such a consolidation of financial and industrial power as we are now witnessing in the United States. Through the device of the modern corporation, ownership of industry is diffused, but control is concentrated. Small boards of directors not only control their own huge fortunes, but also dominate the pools of invested capital which represent the savings of multitudes of investors. Professor Gardiner C. Means of Columbia University in a recent article in the American Economic Review has estimated that the 200 largest American corporations control between 35 and 45 per cent of all business wealth, and that these 200 corporations in turn are controlled by less than 2,000 directors. This enormous power enables these directors to dominate the distribution of the proceeds of industry. In a recent article in the Atlantic Monthly, Professor Sumner H. Slichter quotes the estimate of the Monthly Survey of Business that dividend disbursements by American corporations in the disastrous year of 1930 were actually 65 per cent higher than in 1928, whereas the wages paid by these corporations dropped 19 per cent during the same period! Dividends up and wages down! Power!

When the workers attempt to organize effective trade unions in the hope that by collective bargaining they may be able to obtain a more equitable share of the proceeds of industry, they are frequently met with ruthless opposition from the employers. In many sections of the country, workers in order to secure employment are compelled to sign "yellow dog" contracts that they will not join labor unions. Many corporations make it a practice to discharge union members or "agitators". An industrial spy system is maintained by many corporations in order to weed out advocates of unionism. In many mining communities the coal companies own all the houses or shacks in which the miners live and are able therefore to use eviction as a means of suppressing labor organizations. Yet when miners under these circumstances strike for better standards, they are often looked upon as dangerous characters. They are not infrequently terrorized by armed strike-breakers and private guards, and sometimes even by "officers of the law."

The experiences of Arnold Johnson in Kentucky during the past summer shed light upon the tactics sometimes employed by the operators. Mr. Johnson, formerly secretary to Sherwood Eddy and now a student at Union Theological Seminary, went to Harlan County, Kentucky, as a representative of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the American Civil Liberties Union, for the purpose of aiding in relief work and helping to secure justice for the miners. He was soon accused of being an organizer for the I.W.W. and warned by "operators, judge and sheriff" to get out of town. When he refused to be intimidated, he was arrested on a charge of criminal syndicalism, that is, advocacy of the violent overthrow of the Government. The evidence produced in court to prove this charge was utterly ridiculous, nothing more harmful being cited than the fact that among the papers seized in his room was a pamphlet published by the American Civil Liberties Union upholding free speech for radicals. No effort was made to prove that Johnson had advocated the violent overthrow of government, or even that he had circulated literature which advocated the use of violence for this purpose. Solely on the charge that he had in his possession certain literature which was deemed objectionable by the judge, he was thrown in jail. When Johnson refused to permit his friends to advance the exorbitant bail of \$10,000 demanded, he was kept in prison for 37 days - and then released without bail or without trial!

The domination of the region by the coal operators includes unwavering loyalty from their former employees and other supporters who are elected as sheriffs and judges. Thousands of men throughout Kentucky, West Virginia, Pennsylvania and other coal states are victims of even more flagrant miscarriages of justice than that of which Arnold Johnson was the victim. Additional evidence could have been secured by the Wickersham Commission for its report on "lawlessness in law enforcement" if its

representatives had examined the situation in this area. In a report recently issued the Wickersham Commission said: "Physical brutality, illegal detention, and refusal to allow access of counsel to the prisoner is common....confessions of guilt frequently are unlawfully extorted by the police from prisoners by means of cruel treatment....When all allowances are made, it remains beyond doubt that the practice is shocking in its character and extent, violative of American traditions and institutions, and not to be tolerated."

The class struggle is accentuated by the success of Soviet Russia in establishing a workers' dictatorship. The Russian system is provocative because it terrifies many owners of industry in other lands and tends to make them more ruthless in suppressing workers' organizations, and because, on the other hand, it incites the class-conscious workers elsewhere to attempt the violent overthrow of capitalism in their own lands. An ominous aspect of communist propaganda in the United States is the effort to enlist Negroes and train them for the day of armed revolution, thus making still more inflammatory the relations between the races.

To speak of the menace of class war is not to deny that the revolution has destroyed many ancient evils and has brought numerous blessings to the people of Russia. That the masses are better off than they were under the tyranny of the czars is not open to question in view of the available evidence. It is wholly probable, moreover, that the peoples of the earth will eventually be the beneficiaries of certain aspects of the Russian experiment. Out of this titanic convulsion will come both good and evil for humanity. But the evidence is cumulatively clear to me that the peoples of Germany, England, the United States and other highly industrialized countries can never create an equitable society by violent revolution. In four vital respects conditions in these lands differ from those presented in Russia. The rank and file in Russia have never known freedom; they have never known prosperity; industry was in its infancy in 1917, and the country was predominantly agricultural; and due to the utter collapse of the czarist regime under the colossal burdens of the World War, the Bolsheviks met with relatively feeble opposition. In a country like the United States, however, in spite of terrible poverty for many, standards of living have been relatively high and comparative prosperity has been widespread. The masses have been nurtured on a tradition of individual liberty, and in spite of the vast power of a financial and industrial autocracy, have enjoyed a wide range of freedom. To induce such people to submit to dictatorship and enforced privation in order to consolidate the revolution would be infinitely more difficult than has been the case in Russia. Moreover, the United States is highly industrialized and the dislocation produced by violent revolution would create utter chaos and wholesale starvation. Then too, the owning class in this country is so powerful that a successful revolution would require months and perhaps years of armed hostilities. Prolonged civil war in a highly complex industrial society would cause unparalleled devastation and misery. It is therefore evident that class war cannot be reconciled with the ideal of the Family of God on earth.

5. The race between war and peace is the most immediately alarming aspect of modern society. That there will be another world war within the next decade is freely prophesied by numerous observers of world trends. Economic competition among the great powers is becoming more terrific. The struggle for control of raw materials and markets grows more relentless. Tariff walls are being raised higher and higher. War debt and reparation payments rest with crushing weight upon standards of living and tend to strangle international commerce. Discriminatory immigration laws are bitterly resented in many quarters. The pressure of population in several countries accentuates their need for room to expand. Between Italy and France a dangerous tension prevails. Soviet Russia is feverishly preparing to repel an anticipated attack by a coalition of capitalist powers, while in other countries there is a deep fear of the Red Army and Communist propaganda.

The crisis in Manchuria may yet engulf not only China and Japan, but Russia, Great Britain and other Western nations. Personally I am still confident that the League of Nations will in the end win a tremendous victory in preventing the annexation of Manchuria by Japanese militarists, but one cannot yet be sure of a happy outcome. Relations between France and Germany are extremely ominous. Unless reparation payments are drastically reduced, and unless new credits are forthcoming to enable Germany to meet her short time obligations which soon fall due, there is reason to be apprehensive that the misery and desperation of the peoples

will lead to a violent seizure of power by the Fascists or by the Communists. Both of these extremes have indicated that if they come into power they will repudiate the Treaty of Versailles; refuse to pay any reparations whatever, refuse to keep Germany unarmed; and will cease to cooperate with the League of Nations and other international agencies of justice. The attempt to establish a dictatorship either of the right or the left would not only lead to civil war in Germany, it would strengthen the forces of chauvinism and reaction throughout the world.

Two momentous conferences are to assemble within the next few weeks: the economic conference on reparations and war debts at the Hague on January 18th, and the World Disarmament Conference at Geneva on February 2nd. Vast issues are at stake in these two conferences. For good or evil they will make history on a grand scale.

At this critical period, when the fires of international fear and hatred are burning furiously, the militarists of the various countries are pouring oil on the flames by campaigns of military preparedness. Everywhere efforts are being made to militarize the public mind by singing the old songs: war is inevitable; preparedness for war is the best guarantee of peace; treaties of peace and international agencies of justice are futile unless backed by armed force. Through the press, on the platform, over the radio, through the movie and other available devices, a vigorous effort is being made to convince the public that only in armaments can security and justice be maintained. In the United States two years' military training is required of all students in some 90 colleges and universities and in some 25 high schools. Approximately 145,000 American students are taking courses in military training and are being indoctrinated with the theory of armed preparedness.

Vituperative attacks are being made upon pacifists who renounce the whole war system and seek to replace it by creating an adequate peace system. "Pacifists and other radicals emulating the crime of Judas Iscariot," writes Lt. Col. Lee Alexander Stone, Military Intelligence, O.R.C.; U.S.A., "are seeking to throw to the four winds the joy freedom brings. Pacifism and cowardice are synonymous terms, therefore one readily can believe that the seed from which a pacifist was conceived was originally yellow in color, for certainly the pacifist is yellow all through in his attitude toward society.... Pacifists approve the signing of the slacker's oath, the rape of religion, the subsidizing of the press, and the defeat of the Constitution of the United States. They approve any method that would destroy the Stars and Stripes and put the Red Flag at the head of the mast."

In commenting on the results of a recent poll of clergymen on war and peace conducted by The World Tomorrow and which revealed the fact that 10,427 ministers went on record as declaring their intention not to support or participate in any future war, an editorial in the Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Journal says: "It is a matter of great surprise to find so many supposedly intelligent American citizens willing to preach treason against their country by advising against national defense. It is interesting, if not pleasant, to contemplate the number of telegraph poles that would be adorned by white cravats, re-enforced by hempen neckties, should another war be declared - which, may heaven forbid - to test the 'loyalty' of these anti-patriots..... The event of a war and the active participation of the clergy against national defense, to which so many have pledged themselves, would give us a brand new national sport: gunning for clergymen."

If mankind continues to squander its substance upon armaments and then stumbles and staggers into another war, there will be no victor but only vanquished. It has been predicted that by 1945 there will be one million airplanes in the United States alone. Men have already flown at the rate of seven miles per minute and have covered five thousand miles without a stop. Deadlier and yet deadlier poison gas is available. Surely it is obvious that reliance upon the war system cannot lead to the creation of the Family of God on earth.

4. The impotence of governments in dealing effectively with the problems which menace our society constitutes another threatening aspect of Western civilization. Democracy is everywhere under attack. In a dozen countries dictatorships have supplanted democratic processes and elsewhere representative government functions badly. The bankruptcy of the leadership in the United States has been illuminatingly revealed by a recent book entitled Oh Yeah? The compiler has assembled in chronological order various statements and prophecies made by outstanding leaders during the present depression. When these various utterances are read in sequence, and compared with actual happenings they reveal the abysmal ignorance of our best minds concerning the trend of events.

The foreign policy of the United States is becoming increasingly significant to the rest of the world. What we do about war debts, tariffs, armaments, the World Court and the League of Nations may determine the outcome of the race between war and peace. Yet on all these issues, Congress is as likely to adopt a fatal policy as it is to make a wise decision. The evidence is conclusive that we shall never be able to collect the huge sums due in war debt payments and that continued efforts to collect these amounts will prove disastrous to international commerce and may lead to war. High tariff walls in an interdependent world are stifling and strangling at best, and at worst may destroy international friendship and peace. To continue the race of armaments and to withhold cooperation from the World Court and the League of Nations is to invite international suicide. Therefore, witnessing Congress in action intensifies one's apprehensions for the future. While the graft and corruption in state and municipal governments are sufficient to produce despair.

When we come to examine the reasons for the prevailing ineffectiveness and impotence of democratic processes, we discover the operation of four factors. First, under a system of individualism, based upon self-interest as the motivation and competition as the method, it is wholly probable that most politicians will follow the example of business men in securing the maximum individual reward for themselves and their clients. To eulogize self-interest in business and to condemn it in politics leads to a fatal contradiction. Second, as long as citizens in general are motivated by self-interest, they are likely to be indifferent to government, except as their own pocketbooks are directly involved, and will remain untrained in the science of citizenship. Third, in an industrial society where the tremendous power of a financial and economic autocracy is felt in every remote corner, political democracy is doomed to impotence, for the obvious reason that in the existing world, economic power transcends and dominates political forces. The cure for democracy has ever been more democracy. A fourth reason is found in the unwillingness of the voters to support the Socialist Party or any other party committed to the task of transforming capitalism into a more equitable society. The recent New York City election reveals the inertia and stupidity of the voters. Although the Seabury Commission had produced evidence which had driven six or eight judges from the bench because of fraud and corruption, and although the direct relation of Tammany with these debauches was well established, the voters returned Tammany candidates to office with unprecedented majorities. For example, the Tammany candidate running against Norman Thomas, probably the most intelligent and hopeful figure in American politics, polled more than five times the Socialist vote.

Since it is obvious that the sphere of government becomes more extended and significant as society becomes more complex and interdependent, the supremely crucial question is this: can we produce intelligent and public spirited leaders in sufficient numbers, and can the voters be trained to follow such leadership?

CONCLUSION

Due to limitations of time, this analysis is obviously incomplete and inadequate. Race prejudice and hostility, lawlessness and crime, the cancer of secularism, the confusion in the realm of moral standards and values, the pathetic weakness and timidity of organized religion - all these deserve an emphasis which it is not possible to give in the brief period at my disposal.

That my analysis has been one-sided is apparent to all. There are brighter and more hopeful aspects of Western civilization. I myself once edited a volume entitled Recent Gains in American Civilization. Moreover, it is obvious that I have not offered solutions for the various problems presented. I have rigorously confined myself to the theme which was assigned to me by the committee in charge of the convention program, namely, a critical analysis of certain aspects of Western civilization. Other speakers and leaders will discuss ways out of the dangerous situation in which our society finds itself. The convention book-store has assembled a wide range of literature dealing with the various problems under consideration. Many months and even years, will be required before any student can fully equip himself for leadership. Indeed, all of us together do not at present know the way out of the darkness into the light of an equitable society. Our generation has been too absorbed in the struggle for profit and power to explore the pathways that lead to a socialist commonwealth. Too few experiments in social planning and social control have been inaugurated and cultivated. The frantic struggle for private gain and the deification of force have blinded us to the values of a cooperative society and the efficacy of non-violent methods of achieving a worthy end.

The odds are heavily against us. The visible evidence furnishes numerous reasons for apprehension concerning the future. The prospects for the days just ahead are exceedingly gloomy. Two possible courses of action are open to all of us as we stand confronted with terrifying threats to our civilization. We may yield to despair and decide to eat, drink and be merry for a few delirious months or years.

On the other hand, we may regard the terrible odds against us as a challenge, an opportunity and a privilege. We may conclude that the times are too serious for trifling and, turning our backs upon the insane struggle for private gain, commit ourselves resolutely to the life-long endeavor to transform modern civilization into a society which may appropriately be called the Family of God on earth, standing ready to go wherever vision and duty call. The pathway to the ideal community leads past the place of crucifixion upward to the triumphant summit of joy over the supreme achievements of glimpsing the promised land. Travelers along this highway are privileged to draw heavily upon the inexhaustible resources of the Great Pioneer and Eternal Friend.

In April or May, 1932, Creative Living, by Kirby Page will appear from the press. Part I. outlines ten steps toward creative living, and Part II. contains 100 daily readings which amplify the significance of these ten steps. Persons sending their names to Kirby Page, 347 Madison Avenue, New York City, will be sent further information when the volume is ready.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION
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April 20, 1933

Mr. Kirby Page
National Council Y
347 Madison Avenue
New York City

Dear Mr. Page:

There has been a lot of thinking around the idea of "Re-thinking Missions". In the next issue of MEN OF NEW YORK, the quarterly publication of the New York City Y.M.C.A. which goes to its contributors, we would like to stimulate some thinking in the direction of "Re-thinking the Y.M.C.A."

These are days when the problems of young men and boys are not only tremendously complex but are also considerably in flux. I would appreciate tremendously getting from you about 500 words outlining your conception of the trends toward which the Y.M.C.A. is going in serving youth under the topic "Re-thinking the Y.M.C.A." I should like to get this around the first of May.

Sincerely yours,

E. A. Hungerford

Editor

RE-THINKING THE Y. M. C. A.

by Kirby Page

One of the most remarkable utterances from the lips of Calvin Coolidge is found in an interview with Henry L. Stoddard on December 14, 1932, ~~now~~ published in the New York Sun and in the press generally: "We are living in a new era to which I do not belong, and it would not be possible for me to adjust myself to it... When I read of the new-fangled things that are so popular now, I realize that my time in public affairs is past. I wouldn't know how to handle them if I were called upon to do so. That is why I am through with public life forever... These new ideas call for new men to develop them. That task is not for men who believe in the only kind of government I knew anything about... These Socialistic notions of government are not of my day."

Here is a fact of titanic dimensions which must be taken into account if the Y. M. C. A. is to do its proper work at this critical time. New situations call for new ideas; new ideas demand new men; and new men require new incentives to action. With the passing of the old era, the old Y. policy of staying within the zone of agreement must be abandoned, and its place must be enthroned a frank willingness to consider dispassionately even the most controversial of economic and political questions. The least that can be demanded is that every Association maintain the freest spirit of inquiry and discussion of current problems. An immense opportunity is open through forums and discussion groups to awaken young men to the significance of social problems and to stimulate them to appropriate action.

The rapid industrialization and urbanization of this country makes imperative the ~~new~~ creation of new attitudes toward wealth, property, and the state. The pioneer days of individualism are gone forever and we must adjust ourselves to a society of ~~many~~ ever-increasing complexity and interdependence. The old idea ~~of~~ that a man is entitled to all the wealth that he can acquire has resulted in a congestion of investors' money in the hands of the privileged and a terrible shortage of money in the hands of the consumers. Greater equality of income and wealth is demanded on economic-political and moral grounds. The old idea of unlimited private property must be supplanted by the new concept of mere private property in consumers' goods and less private ownership of producers' property. The ancient notion that the state is a necessary evil and that that government is best which governs least must be replaced with the concept of the state as a clearing-house through which citizens cooperatively operate enterprises which are ~~more~~ socially desirable. And all this requires the subordination of the financial incentive and the releasing of a new spirit of public devotion.

The Young Men's Christian Association must always be concerned primarily with the task of creating Christian character. But more and more it is apparent that character is vitally affected by economic environment and that the completion of the work of the Y. M. C. A. necessitates the creation of a new economic order.

The Menace of Military Preparedness

By Kirby Page

The chief danger of military preparedness is not that it tends to brutalize men and make them aggressive and blood-thirsty. The supreme menace is found in a combination of two facts: first, efficient preparation for war cannot be carried on in modern democracies unless a certain type of public opinion is created; and second, it is precisely this type of public opinion which leads to hostilities between nations. In other words, military preparedness is a primary cause of war. Let us consider the evidence.

1. Military preparedness creates suspicion, fear and hatred of other peoples. Preparedness for modern war is so expensive and places so heavy a financial burden upon taxpayers that they will not support such a policy unless they are afraid of the consequences of being unprepared. If military and naval budgets are to mount upward, fears and suspicions must be increased. If a solid foundation of fear and suspicion is not laid the superstructure of military preparedness will collapse. In the nature of the case, therefore, advocates of preparedness play upon the fears of voters in their efforts to secure appropriations. One has only to read the

literature and listen to their speeches to realize how frequent and powerful are the appeals to fear. Any act on the part of Japan, for example, that can be construed as aggressive is heralded in glaring headlines across the United States and is harped upon in innumerable public addresses. Out of the countless articles that might be quoted, we quote from one of a series of full page articles in the Hearst press, as follows: "In the accompanying article General Mitchell discloses the tentative plans of the Japanese General Staff for the aerial bombing of San Francisco and Los Angeles as the initial blow following a sudden declaration of war against the United States. Later General Mitchell will present further secret moves mapped out by Japan for the seizure of Alaska, Hawaii and the Philippines." Japanese militarists in turn eagerly avail themselves of any opportunity to emphasize policies of the United States that they regard as a menace to their country, for they likewise, and this should never be forgotten, must make their people afraid if they are to secure large military and naval appropriations.

The full fruits of the appeal to fear are visible in Europe. For many decades prior to 1914 each of the great powers secured support for preparedness on the ground that the fatherland was menaced by the aggressive designs of powerful neighbors. As armaments increased, fears mounted and led to still further increases in armaments. Fear causes suspicion and hatred, prevents sane decisions and leads to irrational conduct. It was fear

more than any other single factor that produced the World War. And fear of one country by another constitutes the greatest international danger of the present hour. The war system of dealing with disputes between nations is manifestly as ineffective and destructive that it could not be maintained for another month were it not for the fears of peoples. They are afraid to abandon armies and navies as means of securing protection and justice and therefore the race of armaments continues. That the perpetuation of the war method constitutes a supreme menace to mankind can scarcely be questioned by any serious student of world affairs. It is equally apparent that fear is the main foundation of that system. Military preparedness cannot be carried on effectively without the creation of fear and suspicion. Therefore, preparation for war tends to produce the very type of public opinion which leads to hostilities between nations.

2. Military preparedness tends to accentuate the menace of irresponsible nationalism. It is a significant fact that practically all extreme nationalists are ardent advocates of military preparedness and that the latter are usually strong nationalists. It is no accident that the newspaper which carries at the top of its editorial page the celebrated slogan, "My country, in her intercourse with other nations, may she always be right, but right or wrong my country," is resolutely committed to armed preparedness. War is such a beastly and loathsome affair that men will not engage in it unless they are

driven by powerful emotions. One of these emotions is fear, another is love of country. In spite of the fact that love of country is one of the noblest of all sentiments, when expressed in an unreasoning and impassioned way it becomes one of the greatest menaces now confronting the human race. One of the most dangerous phases of this question is found in the prevalence of a false sense of national honor. We are still in the duelling stage of national honor, when "insults" to our flag must be punished with human slaughter. "My belief is," says a Lieutenant Colonel quoted in the Christian Century, that when war is once made, divinity and national necessity merge into one... and that at such a time God speaks only in one message, 'As you serve your country, so you serve me.'

When one studies the influence of nationalism and patriotism upon human behavior, one cannot fail to be impressed by the fact that on grounds of love of country men and women have frequently yielded to the basest passions and performed the foulest deeds, ranging from expressions of bitter contempt and hymns of hate to disembowelling men with bayonets and starving women and children with an iron blockade. On behalf of country men often follow a course of action which no upright and self-respect man would ever dream of doing on his own behalf. To admit this is not to denounce patriotism but to call attention to the dangers of its excesses. Unrestrained and uncontrolled nationalism constitutes one of the greatest perils of

our time. As long as the idea is widely held that a nation is the supreme political entity, that it has the sovereign right to determine its own policies without regard for the desires or interests of other peoples, that insults to national honor must be punished with violence, that it is the duty of the citizen to support his own government in all conflicts with other governments, even to the extent of slaughtering other peoples, the peace of the world will be threatened by jingoists in various countries. Nothing is easier than to arouse the mass emotions of a people in time of crisis; nothing is more difficult than to keep patriotic sentiments under control at such an hour. Under the stress of fear and passion and on behalf of country, the sanest and kindest of men consent to the hatred and slaughter inherent in the waging of war. To make peoples afraid of each other and to arouse their respective passions is sheer madness and if continued can only lead to destruction and chaos. To the extent, therefore, that advocates of military preparedness arouse the passions of our citizens against other countries and to the degree that they succeed in instilling a willingness to use any kind of weapons in supporting our government in its dispute with other governments, they accentuate the menace of irresponsible nationalism.

3. Military preparedness increases confidence in the efficacy of physical force and violence, and decreases confidence in non-military means of maintaining security and justice.

Needless to say, it would be folly to pursue a policy of armed preparedness unless a reasonable degree of security can thereby be achieved. Therefore, the spokesmen for such a policy are constantly assuring the public that if other nations know that we are strongly prepared they will not dare attack us. And so we are told that the best way to preserve the peace is to be so heavily armed that other nations will be afraid to molest us. "No one", says General Mitchell, "dares slap the face of a champion prize-fighter in the pink of condition. No one will dare insult this nation or take its possessions if it is known that we can defeat any enemy approaching us. There lies the path of safety - and peace!" Moreover, if we are well prepared, so runs the argument, no nation will dare to interfere with our "domestic" affairs, such as immigration laws, tariffs, etc. If we have a preponderance of armaments, so we are told, we can afford to ignore the desires and interests of other nations. Can there be any doubt, for example, that at least a partial explanation of the rashness and carelessness involved in the manner in which Japanese immigrants were excluded from the United States is found in the belief of most Congressmen that Japan would not dare to attack us? If we did not place such great reliance in armaments, we would undoubtedly be more considerate of the feelings of other peoples and would be more conciliatory in our actions. Dependence upon armed preparedness creates a false

sense of security and leads to recklessness in the determination of national policies.

Some advocates of preparedness are enthusiastic supporters of international agencies of justice, but there is considerable evidence to indicate that the net result of all propaganda on behalf of preparedness is to cause widespread cynicism concerning the efficacy of non-violent means of achieving international security and justice. It would be easy to gather together a large number of quotations similar to the one from Rear Admiral Fiske that "the plain fact is that international law is largely international humbug;" and from Rear Admiral Rodgers that "the popular suggestion for securing peace by means of treaties, international conferences and world courts and other diplomatic and economic agreements.....is a vain hope. We all know that great collective emotions are only restrained by force."

As a result of the widespread confidence in the efficacy of armaments and even more widespread cynicism concerning peaceful means of settling international disputes, in every serious crisis there is a clamorous demand for war if the opposing nation will not yield to our demands. In other words there is an expectation of the warlike settlement of serious disputes. It was this demand and this expectation in 1898 that drove McKinley to ask for war against Spain. The hope of peace lies in our ability to build effective international agencies of justice and in the creatio

of an expectation that these agencies will prove adequate in time of crisis, that is to say, the building up of a psychology of peaceable settlement of even the most serious international disputes. The net result of propaganda for preparedness, in the opinion of the writer, is to do just the opposite, to create a psychology of warlike settlement.

4. Military preparedness leads to colossal waste of money and man-power. The expenditure of more than 500 million dollars annually upon the current expenses of the army and navy of the United States is usually justified as insurance payments against aggression and injustice. To hold this opinion any longer is to ignore the clear lesson of history. The forty billion dollars spent upon armaments by the nations of Europe during the four decades prior to 1914 did not give any one of them security but rather made the world war inevitable. In the opinion of the writer there is not the slightest probability that the shores of the United States will be invaded by deliberate aggression of another power. The danger is found in the possibility of hostilities as a result of disputes concerning our investments or loans abroad or over the question of the protection of the lives and property of our citizens in other lands. Then it is recalled that we now have a stake of some 22 billion dollars in loans and investments in practically every country in the world and that our citizens are to be found everywhere, the impossibility of achieving security and justice by force of arms becomes apparent. The five billion dollars a decade that we are now spending upon the current expenses of our army and navy do not give adequate

insurance against aggression and much of this amount is sheer social waste. The colossal waste in man-power is also significant. What if the more than 20,000 officers, not to mention enlisted men, in the army, navy and marines who are using their time, energy and lives in preparing for war, were turned into constructive channels of international education and conciliation? Would not a much greater degree of security be achieved if the stupendous sums of money and the man-power now being devoted to military and naval preparedness were diverted into the task of creating the machinery and psychology of peaceable settlement of international disputes?

* In his pamphlet, A National Peace Policy, the writer has dealt with this question at length.

In conclusion, we would point out that the final test of the value of military preparedness is not found in the good effects of military training, such as physical development, discipline of character, and the creation of civic loyalty, all of which can surely be obtained apart from military training, but in the answers given to two questions; namely, is the way system an effective means of maintaining international security and justice? And second, is military preparedness a successful method of preventing war?

The answer to the first question is clear and incontrovertible. If no better means can be found of settling controversies between nations than by war, prospects for human progress are indeed dismal. The increasing destructiveness of the weapons of

war, the increasing size of the units involved, and the increasing interdependence of peoples, combine to make the continued use of the war method nothing short of suicidal for humanity.

Does military preparedness prevent war? The answer of history is in the negative. The net evidence, in the opinion of the writer, is that preparedness, instead of preventing war, is a primary factor in the creation of that type of public opinion in the various countries which makes war inevitable. What are the origins of war? Greed, aggressive ambitions, and desire for restitution or revenge, are admitted causes. But equally important, if not more so, are suspicion, fear, hatred, extreme and irresponsible nationalism, a false sense of national honor, unreasoning patriotism, trust in the efficacy of force and violence and distrust of peaceable processes, and the creation of a psychology of warlike settlement. Since an abundance of evidence makes it clear that the campaign for military preparedness in the various countries actually results in the creation of exceedingly dangerous social attitudes and governmental practices, are we not justified in speaking of the menace of military preparedness?

Get Together on Outlawry

Kirby Page

It is a shame. Worse, it is a scandal. There is no excuse whatever for the failure of the peace forces of the world to unite upon outlawry.

No more fascinating and thrilling experience is open to the human mind than to envisage a world in which war has been delegialized as a method of settling disputes between nations. If the peoples of the earth were wise enough and courageous enough to negotiate and ratify a universal treaty declaring war to be a crime under the law of nations, a new era in human history would be ushered in.

The psychological effects of such a step would be incalculable. The utterly inadequate reduction of naval armaments brought about at the Washington Conference resulted in a notable improvement in relations between Japan and the United States. The far from complete outlawry agreement between three nations negotiated at Locarno relieved the tension in Europe to an almost unbelievable extent. A universal outlawry treaty would do nothing less than revolutionize the emotions of mankind. Fear, suspicion and hatred would be greatly minimized or supplanted by confidence, cooperation and friendship.

Preparedness campaigns generate dangerous tempers and intensify the most menacing aspects of nationalism. If war were outlawed, there would be less justification for a race of armaments and therefore jingoism would be diminished. Once war is delegialized the fears of peoples will subside sufficiently to make possible drastic reductions in armaments, without which permanent peace is impossible. On the other hand, unless war is outlawed, reductions and limitations of specified instruments of war will not prevent the outbreak of hostilities in hours of supreme crisis.

If war were outlawed the respective nations would gradually cease to rely upon armaments for protection and would devote themselves earnestly to the task of creating and strengthening agencies of international justice. Until war is delegalized, however, international agencies will not be able permanently to restrain the passions of nations.

Aggressive governments would find themselves greatly embarrassed and handicapped by outlawry agreements. At the present time, with the exception of those countries that have entered into limited outlawry agreements, governments have the legal right to declare war whenever they deem such action necessary in order to defend national interests or to protect national honor. Whenever war is declared citizens are expected to support their government in the prosecution of the conflict. Refusal is regarded as treason. Whereas, if war were outlawed, a declaration of war would be an international crime and a belligerent government would find itself in the position of having to call upon its citizens for support in illegal action. Truly the world would be an utterly different place if pacifists were regarded as patriotic citizens and if militarists were declared to be criminals. Outlawry would make aggression immeasurably more difficult.

Outlawry would greatly minimize the perils inherent in economic imperialism. That economic competition between traders of different nations frequently results in war is due to the emotions created by nationalism and to the legal practice of defending national interests by violence. If war were delegalized and adequate international agencies were created, the most serious financial and commercial controversies between nations could be settled without bloodshed. Soon after war is outlawed an expectation of peaceful settlement of disputes will be created. When a serious controversy arises between Colorado and New Mexico, for example, the citizens of these states never think of going to war with each other. The habit of peaceful settlement has been formed. Such a happy state of affairs between citizens of different nations would be hastened by outlawry.

The advantages of outlawry are so obvious and so numerous that it seems difficult to understand why it has been so long delayed and even now appears

to be such a distant goal. Why don't the peace forces get together on outlawry? Because of serious differences of opinion on three points: the significance of outlawry, the methods required in order to secure outlawry, and the agencies required to make outlawry effective.

Some advocates of outlawry give the impression that they regard it as a panacea; outlaw war and it will immediately be abolished. Other peace leaders do not think outlawry would make very much difference unless it were accompanied by numerous other drastic changes in the existing international order. Some outlawrists believe that the way to get outlawry is to call an international conference immediately and negotiate a universal treaty, while others contend that progress will be made more rapidly by negotiating a series of outlawry treaties between two powers. Some say that a frontal attack should be made on the institution of war, with major emphasis upon outlawry. Others say there is no chance of getting outlawry until national passions are minimized and that the causes of fear and hatred must be dealt with.

The chief difference, however, centers in the question of the international structure required if outlawry is to be made effective and permanent. There is general agreement that an outlawry treaty, whether universal or limited, must be accompanied by other projects. The orthodox outlawry position is that an international court with affirmative jurisdiction is necessary and that international law must be codified. While many other peace leaders regard the League of Nations as indispensable to the outlawry and abolition of war. It is unfortunate that outlawrists frequently have been hostile to the entrance of the United States into the League and that advocates of the League have often resented criticism of that institution.

Outlawrists of the American Committee brand usually regard the reliance of the League upon armed sanctions as fatal. While absolute pacifists say that the maintenance of armed forces for purposes of actual defense sanctioned by the outlawry program is likely to result disastrously in crises, as defensive

forces may easily be used aggressively. If the outlawrist contends that it is impossible to induce nations to give up the right of self-defense, certain advocates of the League are apt to reply that adequate self-defense is possible only by cooperative action through such an agency as the League. My own position is somewhat unique: I am an absolute pacifist, an enthusiastic outlawrist and an ardent advocate of the League, although opposed to all armed sanctions.

Is there any chance of uniting the peace forces on outlawry? On the idea, yes; on a specific program, perhaps. It will be a supreme tragedy if we allow our differences of opinion concerning methods and programs to prevent our getting together on the idea of delegating war. In all probability war will not be outlawed by any one method. Many different procedures are likely to be adopted before war is universally outlawed. The important thing just now is that every peace worker should seek outlawry by whatever method seems most effective to him. It would help enormously if all of us could learn to submit to the most rigorous criticism of our pet theories and programs without being offended or alienated. The sum total of wisdom does not reside in any wing of the peace movement -- nor is it confined within the ranks of those who think they are working for peace. Vigorous discussion is essential to the discovery of truth.

In spite of sharp differences in opinion concerning methods, I am convinced that a large measure of agreement even on practical proposals is possible if we have the will to cooperate. I am still convinced that no better suggestion has yet been made than the one which grew out of a series of conferences during the World Court campaign in 1925 and which came to be known as the Harmony Peace Program, sponsored by persons of such varying opinions as Justice Clarke, S. O. Levinson, James T. Shotwell, Charles Clayton Morrison, Sherwood Eddy, Raymond Robins, Norman Thomas, William Allen White, Carlton J. H. Hayes, Bishop Charles H. Brent, Judge Florence E. Allen, etc.

Why not call another conference? Why not? Why not gather together those persons who agree concerning the validity and vitality of the idea of out-

lawry and endeavor to work out a new and more effective program?

Such a group might well begin where the Harmony Conference left off. Why not advocate immediate entrance of the United States into the World Court and the League of Nations, with the proviso that unless the members of the League negotiate and ratify an outlawry treaty within five years the United States will withdraw from both bodies at the end of that period? Here is a platform upon which all wings of the peace movement should be able to unite. Divided, we are impotent; united, we could outlaw war and move on toward its total abolition.

How Can We Abolish Industrial and International Strife?

by Kirby Page

Newark Broadcasting Station, W O R,
April 12, 1923

More than four years have passed since the termination of the "war to end war." During this period more than a score of wars, small and great, have been waged. Even at the moment numerous powder mines are exposed all across Europe, especially in the Ruhr and in the Near East. A recent manifesto issued by one hundred and sixty leading American citizens, including Cardinal O'Connell, Dr. Mott, Bishop McConnell, Dr. Fosdick, William Jennings Bryan and Frank Vanderlip, warns us that "another war is being prepared in the vindictive hatreds, the nationalistic ambitions, the scheme of racial and imperial self-aggrandizement which mark the world's international relationships. The spirit of good-will and sincere cooperation for the welfare of mankind as a whole is so lamentably weak, is so openly scoffed at in influential quarters, and expectations of war are so freely voiced and preparations for it so frankly pushed, that another war is inevitable unless a better mind can speedily prevail."

Not only in the international realm but in the sphere of industry also we find intense bitterness and hostility. The past decade has witnessed greater industrial unrest and violence than any previous generation has known. The major struggle in industry is no longer that of an individual worker against an individual employer but that of class against class. Production is increasingly being carried on in huge plants and factories by great corporations. We have a single corporation with direct assets of more than two billion dollars and with indirect assets of many billions more, employing more than two hundred thousand workers. Moreover, there are numerous powerful associations of employers. The largest of these employers associations has a membership of more than five thousand corporations. Its members

produce more than three-fourths of all the goods that are manufactured in the United States. On the other hand, organizations of workers are becoming increasingly powerful. The largest union has more than half a million members, while the American Federation of Labor has between four and five million members. The tendency toward organization on the part of employers and workers alike is certain to gain momentum during the next decades. The industrial conflict, therefore, is becoming more and more deadly. Already the efficiency and continuity of production are threatened by industrial warfare.

How to abolish strife in industry and international affairs becomes, therefore, one of the major tasks of this generation. History reveals the fact that serious differences of opinion between individuals, groups or nations, have always been settled in one of two ways, either by fighting them out or by talking them out. For long periods of time serious differences between individuals were fought out. It was the custom for men to go armed and to use violence in protecting themselves and in maintaining what they regarded as their rights. In the course of time men came to realize the foolishness of this way of settling individual disputes. They decided it was more sensible to reason about their disputes. They, therefore, began to set up courts and processes of justice.

Has the time not now come for classes and nations likewise to recognize the futility of attempting to settle disputes by resorting to violence? Surely this generation does not need any further proof of the futility of war to protect the helpless or to advance the well-being of mankind. If European civilization is to be saved, indeed if Western civilization is to be saved, a substitute for war must be found and found quickly. In the last issue of the Review of Reviews, Mr. Frank Simmons, an eminent correspondent, expressed the strong

conviction that "Perhaps European civilization itself is going down in the wreckage. No victor in any proper sense can now emerge from the conflict. It is no longer a question of who shall come forth successful but of who shall survive."

Now war can be prevented only by setting up processes of justice through which differences between nations may be adjudicated. These processes, if they are to be effective, must be international. The setting up of such processes involves a different conception of national sovereignty than is usually held. All attempts at the establishment of effective international processes will be ineffective so long as each nation regards itself as absolutely sovereign and refuses to recognize any power greater than itself. The nations of the earth are now in much the same position that the various states found themselves in at the end of our revolutionary war. It will be recalled that during this period each of the thirteen states regarded itself as absolutely supreme and was desperately afraid of any "super-state." For a number of years their affairs were conducted on a basis of absolute sovereignty, each state having its own revenue and tariff laws and refusing to recognize the rights of adjoining states. It was soon discovered, however, that the best interests of all the states could best be served by establishing a federal union, in the formation of which the separate states surrendered certain of their sovereign rights.

If the nations of Europe are to survive, they must likewise relinquish certain of their sovereign rights and unite in the formation of a United States of Europe. As steps in this direction, there are two practicable proposals now before us, namely, the World Court and the League of Nations. The present League undoubtedly has serious weaknesses and limitations and thus far has not been given jurisdiction

over many of the major problems of Europe. Moreover, it has been seriously handicapped by reason of the fact that three of the great nations are not included in its membership. If Germany, Russia and the United States were in the League, and if the nations of the earth were so minded, effective international processes of justice could quickly be established. Whatever differences of opinion there may be with regard to the present League, the facts of the present situation seem to demonstrate conclusively that some kind of League or Association of Nations must quickly be formed if we are to escape the universal destruction of another world war.

In the realm of industry likewise, we are confronted with an overwhelming need of a substitute for warfare. At the present time differences between employers and workers are usually fought out. There seems to be no way of avoiding this warfare except by setting up industrial processes of justice. Such a step in this realm also involves a new conception of sovereignty. So long as the employer continues to talk only in terms of "my business" and "my rights" and refuses to recognize the rights of the workers and consumers, there is little hope of avoiding industrial warfare. For chaos and warfare we must substitute a code of industrial law and processes of justice. This code must be agreed upon in advance of the conflict. As steps in the direction of building up these processes, we need strong organizations of employers and strong organizations of workers. Whatever may be the dangers which accompany the enormous aggregate of capitalists and the powerful organizations of workers, the tendency is unmistakeably in the direction of more and more powerful units on both sides. Several decades of experience with anti-trust laws has not prevented the growth of huge corporations. Likewise the nation-wide attempt made by certain

employed groups to destroy the power of organized labor has failed. Since there seems to be so little chance of preventing employers and workers from organizing, it seems to be the part of wisdom to direct our efforts toward changing the spirit and functions of these organizations. For industrial autocracy by either group we must substitute industrial democracy with due process of law in this realm as in the realm of political government. As a matter of fact, it is far more important that the workers have a share in determining the conditions under which they do their daily work than it is that they should have a right to participate in political government.

One of the most hopeful signs of the times is the establishment of some form of employees representation by hundreds of corporations all over the country. In many of these experiments little actual power is placed in the hands of the workers, their participation being limited to making suggestions. In many other cases, however, the workers have an equal voice with the employers in determining wages, hours, and other conditions of work. In some cases the employers refuse to allow their employees to select officials of their unions as their representatives. In many of the most successful plans, however, the organized employers deal directly with the organized workers.

The effective functioning of representative government in any realm depends upon the adoption of a code of laws which is to be used as a basis of settlement of disputes. Thus far only a mere beginning has been made in formulating an industrial code. Such a code, however, is gradually evolving out of the various agreements reached between organized employers and organized workers. Last

year a bill was introduced in the United States Senate which attempted to formulate a code for the coal industry, but it was not passed. In Kansas an industrial court has been established, the chief weakness of which is that its decisions are not based upon industrial code but depend upon the arbitrary ruling of the judges. Experience seems to indicate that the forms of representative government and the industrial code voluntarily established by the employers and the workers are likely to be more successful than those established by governmental action.

Two roads are open before us in international and industrial relations. We can continue to settle our differences by warfare or we can erect processes of justice through which these differences may be adjudicated. The choice before us is nothing less than a choice between life and death. Continued warfare can end only in universal disaster. If modern civilization is not to perish, as previous great civilization perished, we must quickly turn away from warfare and resort to due process of law in international and industrial relations.

The time at my disposal does not permit me to emphasize the great importance of a change of spirit on the part of the combatants in international and industrial struggles. The really great need of the hour is that individuals, classes and nations should be dominated by Jesus' spirit of love and sacrifice for others. Warfare cannot be abolished by mere mechanisms. This is so universally recognized that I have not felt under necessity of emphasizing it. It should be realized, however, that good will is ineffective in the realms of international politics and industry unless there is an appropriate channel through which it may be expressed.

SENATOR BORAH SPEAKS VERY FRANKLY

I wish everyone might read the frank and sympathetic statements Senator Borah made to Kirby Page in an interview on March 25th. It appears in THE NEW YORK TIMES of March 26th. Not only does he say that such a treaty as Mr. Kellogg proposes would inaugurate a new epoch in international relationships, but he believes it would strengthen The League of Nations. The prevailing war system is itself the greatest obstacle in the pathway of Geneva, he thinks. "With war delegialized between these great powers it would soon be possible to secure a universal treaty completely outlawing war as an instrument of policy in international affairs. Then, and only then, will the League be free to concentrate upon its constructive and beneficent functions. At present we have a network of treaties and understandings relative to peace - arbitration treaties, conciliation treaties, The Hague Tribunal, World Court, peace machinery of the League and peace machinery of Locarno. The effect of the Kellogg proposal is a solemn pledge to let all this peace machinery work. It is a solemn pledge to rely upon the peace machinery and not upon the war machinery. If we are to prevent war or reduce the chances of war, every means known, moral, educational, arbitral, legal, political, must be harnessed for the struggle." When asked what about the obligations of the signatories of the Covenant of the League to use coercive measures against a nation which fails to observe its international obligations, he said: "These obligations can be easily safeguarded by widening the multilateral pact so as to include those nations which are most likely to be the victims of aggressive action by another power, as, for example, Belgium. If, after such action is taken, an attack is made on Belgium by one of the parties to the agreement, the resultant breach of the multilateral treaty would thereby ipso facto release the other signatories and enable them to adopt whatever measures seem most adequate under the circumstances. In other words, a

HENRY A. ATKINSON
General Secretary

FRED B. SMITH
Chairman, Executive Committee

WILLIAM E. SPEERS
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SERVICE
FOR
MEMBERS

News Letter

Issued Monthly

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April 12, 1928

THE BRIAND - KELLOGG CORRESPONDENCE

As the Briand - Kellogg correspondence goes on one is rather inclined to say with THE NEW YORK TIMES that it is difficult to believe one is living in the same world as that of fifteen years ago. Here are the secretaries of the foreign affairs of two of the great powers seriously discussing, with the consent of their governments, the outlawry of war. The word itself was one which only a few years ago made the world smile and anyone who used it was classed with the vain dreamers and impossible idealists. Today it is being proposed by two great nations as the basis of agreement for a treaty to be signed by all the powers. M. Briand first proposed a bilateral treaty between France and the United States; then Mr. Kellogg answered with suggestions of extending it to include the five or six great powers and now it is being discussed as a universal treaty. The offer of M. Briand hardly attracted any attention when first made. Most people in America did not even know it had been offered. Then President Nicholas Murray Butler called the attention of the public to it. Then as interest awakened, Secretary Kellogg took it up. Just now the whole world is awakening to what is going on and the press of every nation is full of it.

SECRETARY KELLOGG IN NEW YORK

On the evening of March 15th, Secretary Kellogg came to New York, and

March 26, 1934

My dear Comrade Oneal:

Herewith I am enclosing the brief article which you asked me to prepare. I hope that it reaches you in ample time.

Cordially yours,

Mr. James Oneal
New Leader
7 E. 15th Street
New York City

KP:ST

*original
sent s. d.*

NEW LEADER

MAR 8 1934

AMT.

**A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER OF THE
SOCIALIST AND LABOR MOVEMENTS**

March 7th, 1934

Kirby Page
World Tomorrow
52 Vanderbilt Avenue
New York City

Dear Comrade Page:

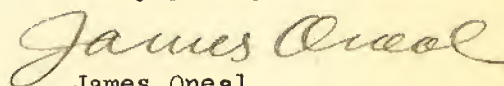
We are planning a special Anti War issue of The New Leader on April sixth and we would be glad to have you contribute an article for that issue on some phase of militarism, armaments and the Socialist attitude towards them.

I am writing to about a dozen comrades on this same matter and I hope that I can have each contribution here at least ten days before that issue goes to press.

Considering the number that will contribute, I will be glad to have you limit your contribution to about 1,000 words.

Thanking you in advance for your cooperation, I am

Fraternally yours,



James Oneal
Editor

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12646

Transform the Dogmas of Nationalism!

Kirby Page

All Socialists are agreed that permanent peace cannot be achieved under capitalism and that therefore the primary task before us is the transformation of the profit system into a cooperative commonwealth. But realistic Socialists are also convinced that many years, and possibly decades, will pass before a full-fledged Socialist state is created in the United States. In the meantime the threat of another world war becomes increasingly ominous. Under the circumstances, what can we do about the terrifying specter of world conflagration?

To permit ourselves to be diverted from the central obligation of abolishing capitalism would constitute an irreparable blunder. This work must go on with renewed vigor, but it must be supplemented with a simultaneous drive against certain dangerous doctrines and practices of nationalism. Unless drastic changes quickly be made in nationalistic dogmas, war will sweep over us long before socialism is established. Nothing could be more stupid than for Socialists to glory in the imminence of war, on the ground that international war will soon be followed by civil war and the establishment of a revolutionary regime. So far as the American scene is concerned, the outbreak of war is far, far more likely to be accompanied by a dictatorship of the right than of the left. And if, after prolonged civil war, the workers should be victorious, the form of government set up would in all probability be Communist, not Socialist. Moreover, the catastrophic effects of civil war in a high industrialized and densely populated country would reduce living standards to almost unimaginably low levels, and perhaps would destroy the foundations of orderly society. Socialists are the last people in the world to rejoice over the danger of war.

The twin doctrines of national interest and armed intervention constitute the most serious of the immediate dangers to the people of the United States. If this nation gets involved in another war, in all probability such a calamity will be the result of a quarrel over the rights of American citizens in some foreign land or on the high seas and the effort ~~on~~ on the part of this government to afford armed protection. The way to remove this peril can be stated with childlike simplicity: establish the public policy that when our citizens go abroad they go at their own risk. Abandon the policy of sending armed troops to other lands and half the immediate danger of this country involved in war will be removed. And if, in addition, the practice of resorting to armed action in defense of neutral rights on the ocean is repudiated, there will remain only a remote likelihood that America will be dragged into war during the near future.

Fortunately, there is an ^{impressive} ~~impressive~~ quantity of evidence that rapid progress in this direction can actually be made. It is comparatively easy to convince the workers of the utter folly of going to slaughter in behalf of Wall Street and the investing public when profits are threatened in the Caribbean, in the Far East, or on the high seas. Morning, noon, and night Socialists should proclaim from housetops the sheer insanity of war in behalf of vested interests. Legitimate business abroad has more to gain than to lose by the abandonment of armed action. For this reason the ^{American} president of the largest trading concern in the Caribbean has issued a public statement opposing the practice of sending marines to Nicaragua and other Central American countries on the ground that such action is disastrous to business relations. Moreover, President Roosevelt has twice offered to ^{international} enter into an agreement never to send our troops across our own frontier. Public support for this proposal should be created, and the demand made that this country act alone, if necessary, in abandoning the suicidal

practice of relying upon armed action to defend American interests in other lands and on the ocean.

Success along this line would provide a breathing spell during which to make further headway in creating a Socialist commonwealth.

Another doctrine that must be transformed is the current idea of patriotism. No true Socialist can accept the dogma of my country, right or wrong. On the contrary, it is the inescapable duty of Socialists to announce themselves as war resisters, thorough pacifists who will not go to war at all for any purpose. Here also we are now confronted with a tremendous opportunity. Disillusionment concerning the efficacy of war is widespread and millions of our fellow citizens are in a mood to declare that they will never again sanction or support any war. Even one million resolute war resisters could have a terrific effect upon public opinion and public policy. The enrolling of this resolute minority constitutes a major task of Socialists.

Not that we shall diminish in any way our onslaught upon capitalism, but that we shall intensify our opposition to the dogmas of nationalism!